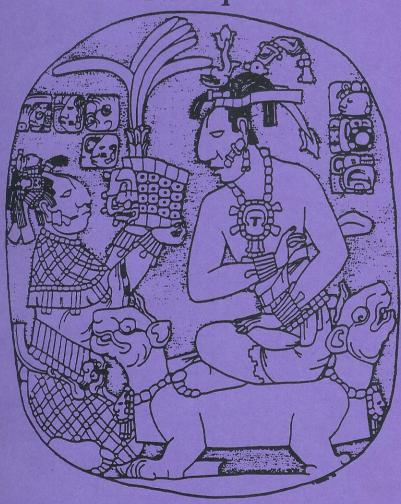
The Proceedings of The Maya
Hieroglyphic Workshop

The Dynastic History of Palenque



Transcribed and Edited by:
Phil Wanyerka

March 13-14, 1993

University of Texas at Austin

Presented by:

Dr. Linda Schele

Professor of Art, University of Texas at Austin

and

Presented by

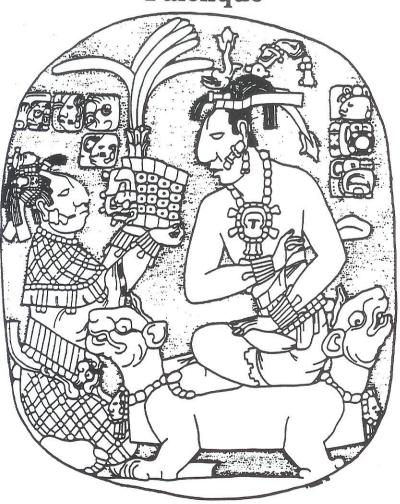
Dr. Peter Mathews

Department of Archaeology, University of Calgary https://gramaticasytextosdelasgrandesculturas.wordpress.com/2015/07/13/the-maya-hierogly

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As you all know, the seventeeth Maya Hieroglyphic Workshop was dedicated to two individuals who have dedicated their life to studying the Maya: Merle Greene Robertson and Floyd Lounsbury. As my compliment to them I would like to dedicate this transcript in their honor! I too want to be just like them when I grow up!

I wish to thank my friends, Linda Schele and Peter Mathews for allowing me the opportunity to be their personal itz'at. I have dedicated much time into producing these transcripts in order to document the history of Maya hieroglyphic decipherment as it happens in our age. I believe that we are in a new renaissance era where soon all the inscriptions left to us by the ancient Maya will finally be 100 % understood. This then, is the tenth transcript in the series that I call The Proceedings of the Maya Hieroglyphic Workshop. As many of you know the job of recording these lectures is a very difficult and now requires video as well as audio equipment in order to ensure accuracy. With that said I would like to present the transcript for the March 13-14, 1993 Maya Hieroglyphic Workshop!

I also wish to thank several other people for their help and friendship; Nikolai Grube, Federico Fahsen, Steve Houston, and Peter Dunham. In addition I would like to thank my parents for their support and encouragement and lasty, Nancy Miller for her love and inspiration.

Thank You!

Phil Wanyerka May, 1993

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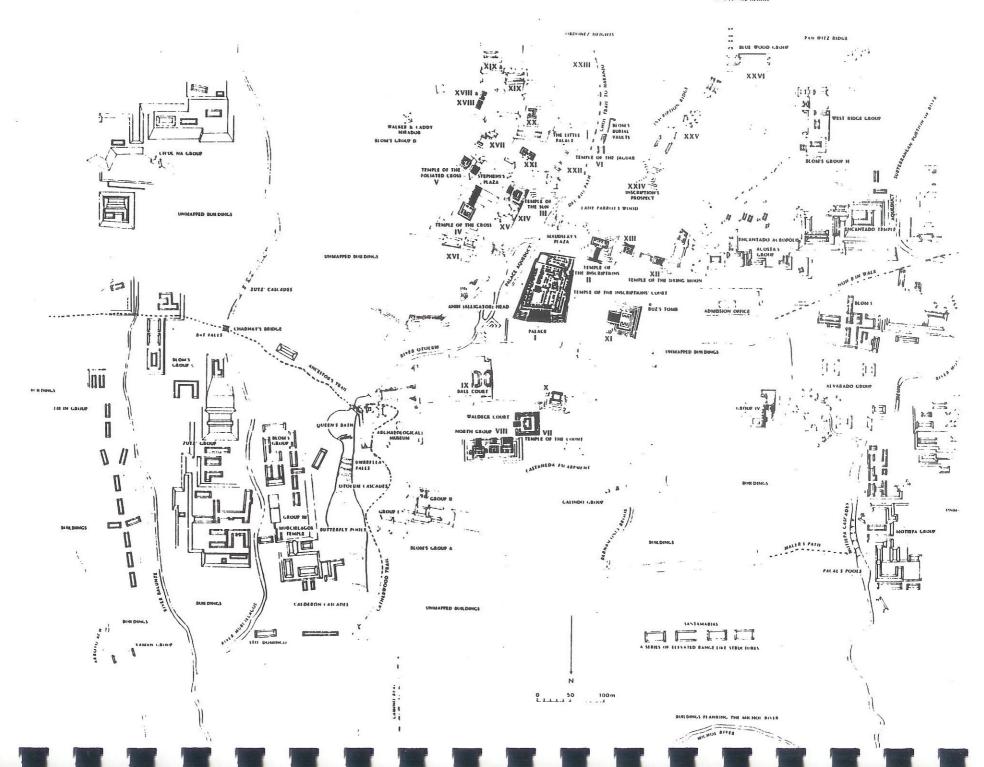
### A QUICK GLOSSARY

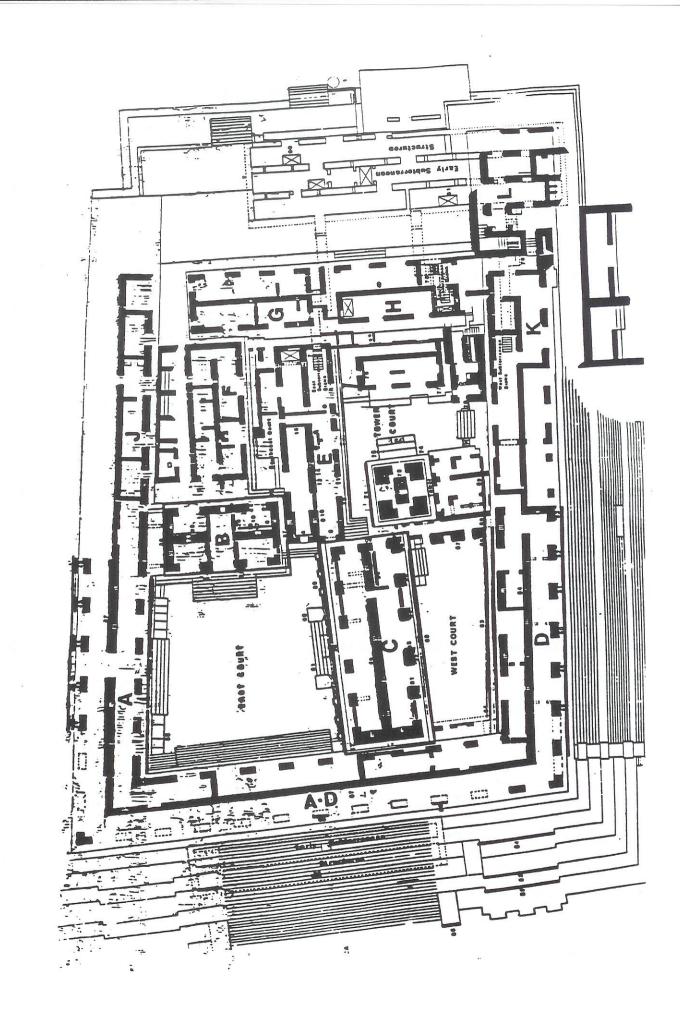
Ahhe of
Ahawyanwas ahawed
Ah ch'ul naarchitect
Akulseating
Ba ch'okthe first sprout
Bakbone, young child, heron, prisoner
Bak'tun144,000 days (400 tuns)
Butz'smoke
Ch'adrops of resin
Ch'akahdecapitate
Ch'ayto diminish or to become extinguished
Chansky, snake
Ch'okyoung sprout
Chukahto pture
Hanabflower
Hayhe was compared to
Ha'atin his house
Hoy to bring close
Hoyito make proper, to circumambulate
Hubirth
Hubi down
Hubuyto down something
Huhiguana
Hunbark, cloth made from bark, head-dress
Huntanto care for, to cherish, caretaker
Iwaland then
Iwal huliand then he arrived

Itz'i uinicyounger brother person
K'ak nabprimordial sea
K'alclosure
K'atun7,200 days (20 tuns)
Kimihe died
K'inday, sun
K'ixstingray spine
Kunseat, place for enchanting
Lahto end
Lakplate
Lakambig or wide
Machahit wasn't
Matto cover something
Mutknot, to tie on headband, bird
Nahouse
Nakto bring close
Nawahto decorate, to paint a person
Netail
Nikflower
Nik teil nacouncil house
Och bihhe entered the road
Och k'ak enters the fire, enters the smoke
Ol(K'umku month sign), in the heart of, porthole to the Otherworld
Pakalshield
Pitzlawballplayer
Popil nacouncil house
Puluyto start burning
Sakwhite
Sak chikuwhite coatimundi
Sak nuk na

Satyito die or end
Sihbirth
Suku winikolder brother person
Tabalcorporate group
Ta ochteentering into office
Ta hoyihas companion
Tikilperson
Tok'eccentric flint
Tok' tancloud center
Tok' pakalflint shield
Tun360 days (year)
Tu bait is done for him
Tzukpartition
Utiyit happened at
Utomit will happen
U bakthe captive of
U butwato bury or to cover up
U ch'ato take or to put on the headdress
U chitinilsoot
U k'abawas it's name
U k'ahiby the authority of
U k'aldoor jambs, to close something
U muk naltomb
Wabread
Waybilsleeping place
Winal 20 days, (month)
Yahalthe conquered one of
Yahawtelord of the tree
Yahkunaadministrator
Yakwahe gave it

Yalehhe said it, it was hurled
Yetehby the authority of, by the work of
Yichnalin the company of
Yilahhe witnessed it
Yitahompanion of
Yochtehe entered in to it
Yotothouse





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#### SATURDAY MARCH 13, 1993 9:10 A.M. PETER MATHEWS

#### MAYA DATES

Last night, I was talking about the basic form of calendrical notations and now I would like to go over a couple of other quick points to show you how the Maya recorded dates. One of the things that I didn't talk about last night was the names of the periods, the names of the days, and the names of the months in the Maya calendar. are the names and the glyphs for the Periods that you will see over and over in the inscriptions and in the codices (Fig.1). As you can see, there are Head Variant forms as well. The sign for a single Maya day is read k'in and you can see various forms of that sign in the first row of the chart. This is then followed by the period of 20 days that are called winals. Then we have tun being the computing years, as they are sometimes called, of 360 days. Then we have k'atuns which are periods of 7,200 days or 20 tuns. The bak'tun is the period that records 144,000 days or 400 tuns and it is those five periods that come into a Long Count (LC) date. So recorded first would be the bak'tun, followed by the k'atun, the tun, the winal, and finally the k'in. There are higher periods that are occasionally shown on the monuments (some occur at Palenque as well) and they are called the Piktun, Kalabtun, and K'inchiltun. There are several more that go on each one at a power of 20 over the preceding period. We will be talking about the k'atun and tun especially in various numbers that are often given as an anchor between two sets of dates.

			w.				 
PERIOD	"GEON	ŒTRIC"	FORMS	HEAD	VARIANT	s	CODICES
K.IM (gru)				É C			9
WINAL (winel)						6.0	
TON (tun)						(A)	
K'ATON (katum)							
BAR'TUM ("baktum")	Te						
PIRTON ("pictum")							Ê
Kalabium ("Calabium")							631 60
K.incwifing K.incwifing	53						

Fig. 1

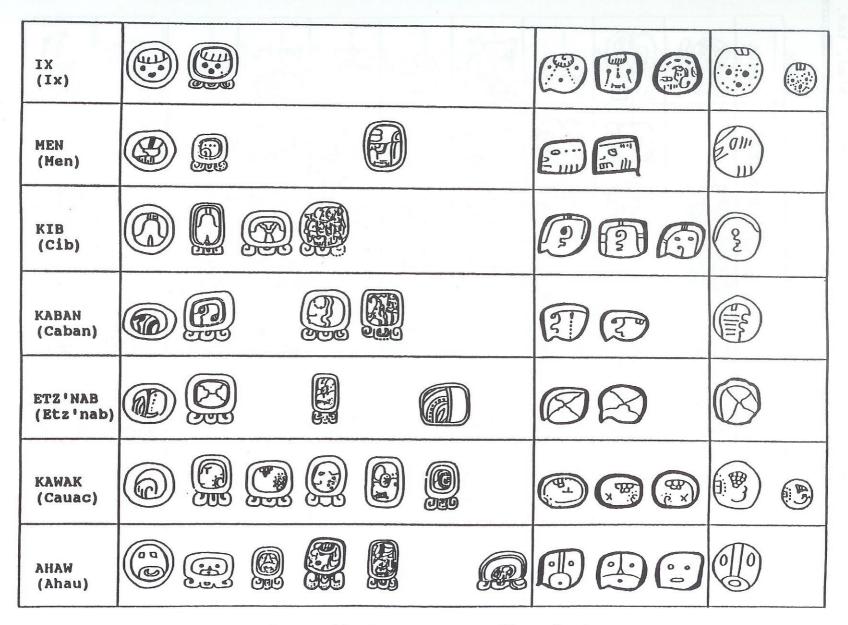
I am now going to go through the day and month names so you can see what they look like. To begin with there are 20 day names. They are read as Imix, Ik', Ak'bal, K'an, Chikchan, Kimi, Manik', Lamat, Muluk, Ok, Chuwen, Eb, Ben, Ix, Men, Kib, Kaban, Etz'nab, Kawak, and Ahaw (Figures 2-4).

LANDA				0		ATT. STORY
CODICES						
MONUMENTS						
DAY	IMIX (Imix)	IK' (IK)	AK'BAL (Akbal)	(Kan)	CHIKCHAN (Chicchan)	KIMI (Cimi)

Maya dates: the Day names, Imix through Kimi

MANIK' (Manik)		(I)
LAMAT (Lamat)	A DE	000
MULUK (Muluc)		6 6
ок (Ос)	Pas	E
CHUWEN (Chuen)	GC	
EB (Eb)		
BEN (Ben)		

Maya dates: the Day names, Manik' through Ben



Maya dates: the Day names, Ix through Ahaw

There are 18 months in the Maya calendar and their names are the following; Pohp, Wo, Sip, Sotz', Sek, Xul, Yaxk'in, Mol, Ch'en, Yax, Sak, Keh, Mak, K'ank'in, Muwan, Pax, K'ayab, Kumk'u, and Wayeb (Figures 5-6).

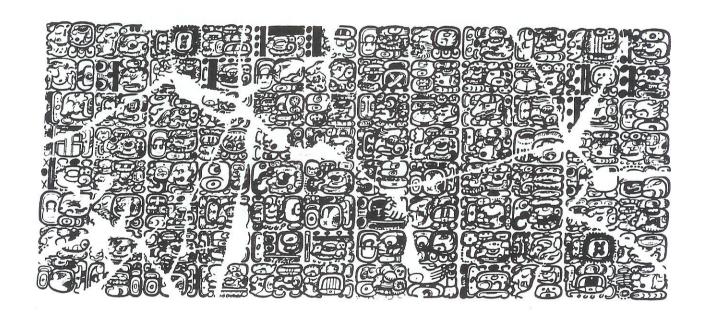
MONTH		MONUM	ents	CODI	CES	LANDA
POHP (Pop)						
WO (Uo)					CO P	
SIP (Zip)						
SOTZ'	7.0					
SEK (Zec)	A	990 1990				
XUL (Xul)						
YAXK'IN (Yaxkin)						
MOL (Mol)						
CH'EN (Ch'en)						
YAX (Yax)						

Maya dates: the Month names, Pohp through Yax.

					Y		
MONTH		MONU	MENTS	COD	CES	LANDA	
SAK (Zac)							
KEH (Ceh)							
MAK (Mac)		FEB SP	(a) (a) (b) (c) (c) (c) (c) (c) (c) (c) (c) (c) (c				
K'ANK'IN (Kankin)	WO				B	P	
MUWAN (Muan)							
PAX (Pax)							
K'AYAB (Kayab)						TOP	
KUMK'U (Cumku)							
wayeb (uayeb)						<b>M</b>	

Maya dates: the Month names, Sak through Kumk'u, and wayeb.

Now what we are going to be doing over the weekend is to look at text like this (Fig.7), the Tablet of the 96 Glyphs. This text doesn't start out with an Initial Series (IS) date where everything is spelled out in the Long Count (LC) of elapsed time, but rather it starts out with a Calendar Round (CR) date. This records the position in the 260 Day Calendar as being 12 Ahaw and in the 365 Day Calendar as being 8 Keh (B1). This then, is a date that repeats every 52 years, so the question here is what is the position in linear time that the Maya scribe is trying to express? This text does not record a IS date and so we are jumping right into a cyclical time notation and where do we put it in real time? Well, when the Maya didn't included the full IS date, they would usually give you some kind of a clue and that is what is given in the following two glyphs where they say that the 11th k'atun recorded at B2 has ended (A2). That is a very quick notation instead of spelling out all of the period glyphs, they just give two more glyphs and that means whatever this date is, it is something. 11. 0.0.0. In other words, there are precisely 11 k'atuns to be counted in linear or elapsed time. They are not writing the tun, the winal, and the k'in positions, but you are to understand that is what is meant. So we are now looking for a date that is something.11.0.0.0 12 Ahaw Keh. If you look up in any table of Mayan dates, you will see that 9.11.0.0.0 in the LC corresponds to 12 Ahaw 8 Keh.



#### Pig.7

This then, is a shorthand notation that is analogous to us saying Friday the 12th of November 89, instead of saying 1989.

(Linda Schele) This is a critical paragraph from J. Eric Thompson's 1950 Maya Hieroglyphic Writing An Introduction that a lot of people don't understand. It's critical mostly because of the debate over the dynastic history of Palenque and elsewhere that has been raging ever since 1973. Here's what he wrote (Fig.8):

A statement, such as 6 Ahau 13 Muan, completion of count of 14 katuns, fixes the position of a date without equivocation, for such a date can not repeat for 949 baktuns, approximately 375,000 years. Even a simpler statement, in which the katun number is unspecified, places a date in the LC with sufficient precision for most purposes, for 6 Ahau 13 Muan will not again end a katun for 949 katuns, which is slightly less than 19,000 years. This is so because there are 73 month positions on which a katun can end and 13 possible coefficients of Ahau. Even the statement "count of tun completed" at tached to a date is sufficient for most purposes, for any given tun ending can not recur until the lapse of 949 tuns (the same combination of 73 month positions and 13 coefficients of Ahau).

#### Fig. 8

In other words, what you just saw recorded at the beginning on the Tablet of the 96 Glyphs fixes the chronology of that passage into a cycle 375,000 years long. So if there is an anchor date in any of these texts which lapses to a tun-ending (it can be a k'atun-ending, a hotun ending, or just a tun-ending) and you are given the CR and told that it is a period-ending, you are locked into a minimum of 1900 years. If they are referring to a k'atun-ending, a lakamtun-ending or a half period, or 5 tun-period that locks it into a period of recycling that is 19,000 years. If they tell you how many k'atuns ended, it puts it into a recurring cycle of 375,000 years.

Now let's take a look back at the Tablet of the 96 Glyphs (Fig.9). Here's an anchor date here (A1-B2) and there's another one here (L1-L3). Each of these locks this tablet into a recurring cycle of 375,000 years. In other words, these dates must be moved 375,000 years in the future or the past in order to re-occur in these positions.



Fig. 9

This is the Palace Tablet (Fig.10) and it begins with a LC. That LC will not ever repeat. It is a single day in all of linear history. In addition here, we have a specified tun-ending date of the 11 k'atun (E17-F17). This date then is locked to 375,000 years. We have another specification here (G10-H10). This one is locked into 19,000 years. So this tablet is anchored to a specific date in linear time and to two period-ending dates that are mentioned in the text that do not recycle for 375,000 years.

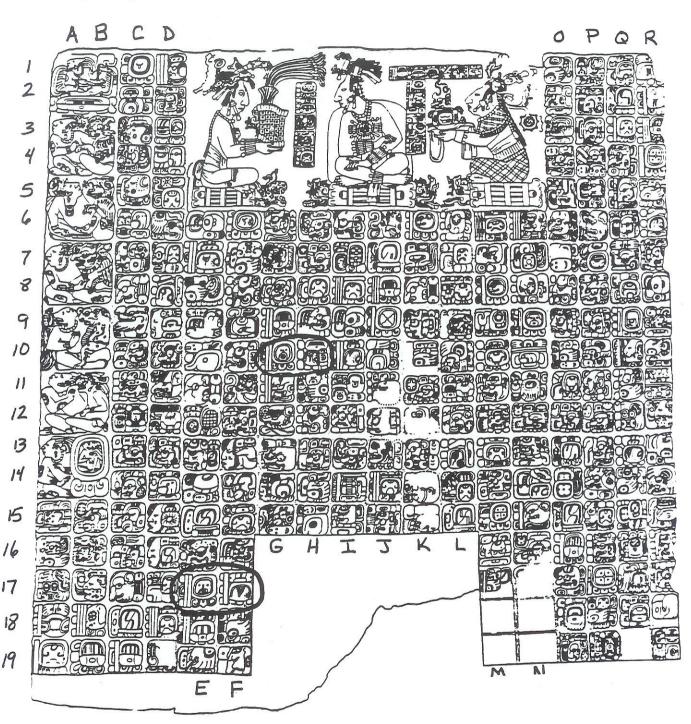


Fig. 10

This is the Tablet of the Cross (Fig.11). There are some debates to some of the chronology in the second half of the tablet which includes the dynastic history, but here we have a period-ending (H17-J2) which is noted as a CR and two glyphs that say that it is the end of 9 bak'tuns. That sets this anchor at the 375,000 year repetition. Remember, the chronology in this tablet is in agreement with the chronology of the last tablet. So it is not just that each tablet is anchored and cross referenced to the others, but anchors all three of them.

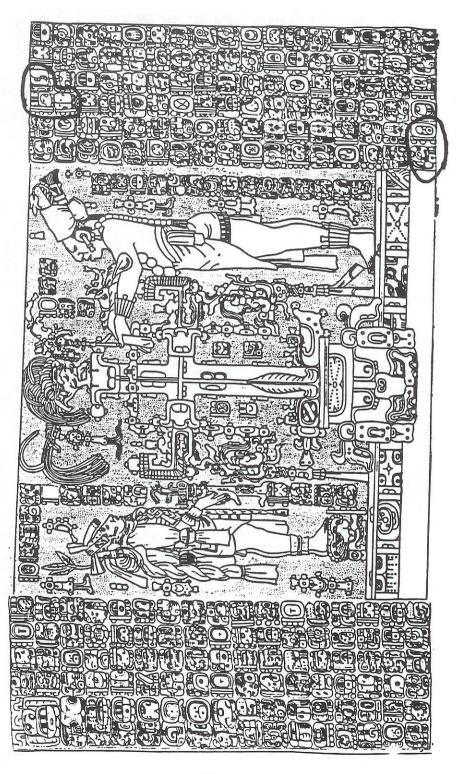
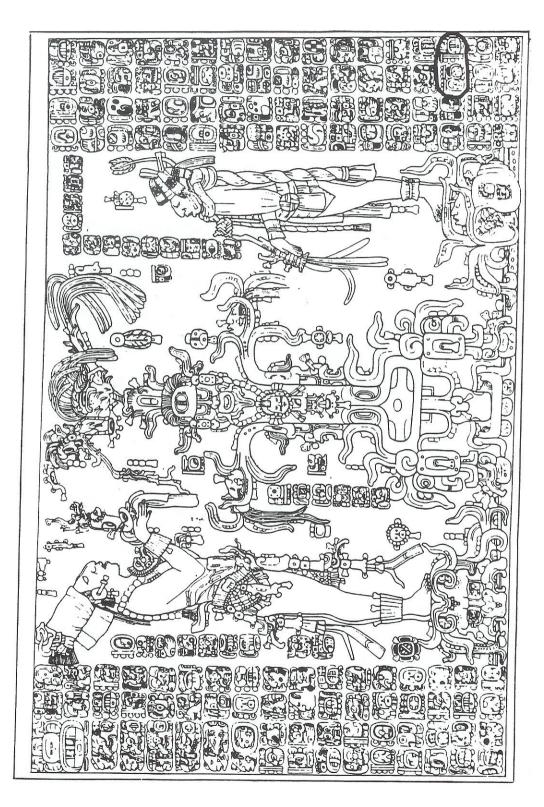
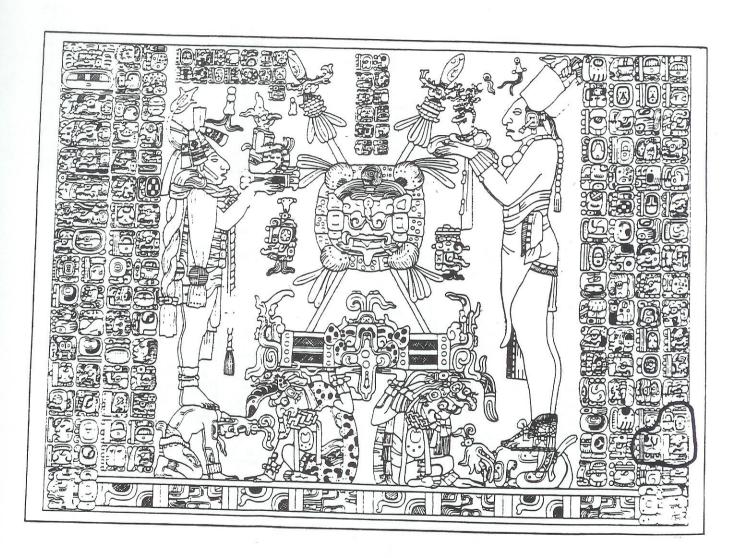


Fig.11

This is the Tablet of the Foliated Cross (Fig.12). It has an IS at the beginning of the text that records mythological time so you can not say that it anchors this side of the tablet, but the right side of the tablet is anchored here at 014-015 to the end of 13 k'atuns. This then sets this anchor on this side of the tablet to 375,000 years and this is cross referenced on the other tablets.



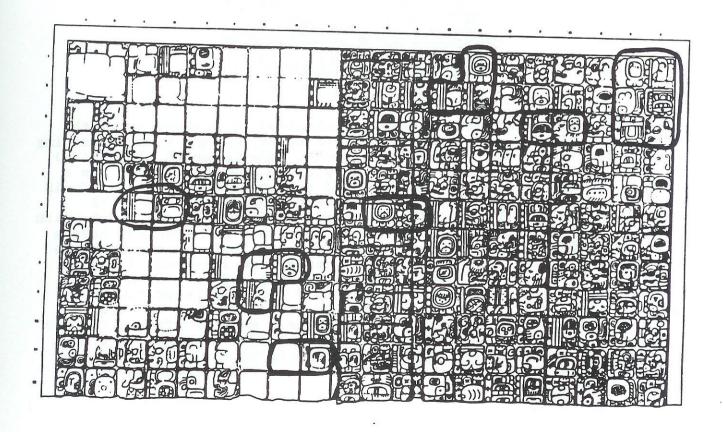
The other tablet that has history that we will look at is the Tablet of the Sun (Fig.13). This one is anchored right here at P14-Q15 to 13 Ahaw 18 K'ank'in and we have a specification here of 10 tuns so that puts it into a minimum of 19,000 years.



This is the inscription on the side of Pakal's sarcophagus (Fig. 14). Floyd Lounsbury and Heinrich Berlin both figured this out long ago. Floyd noticed that there are two places in this inscription here (22, 23, 24) and here (43, 44,45) where instead of having the verb for death, you have a verb which means the end of the k'atun. Here we have the specification of a CR and we are told that the CR is a k'atunending. So that puts this text into a cycle of 19,000 years. Berlin added to that by saying that on the upper tablets you go from 9.4.0.0.0 to 9.13.0.0.0 which is a total of 9 k'atuns. The 1/3rd point of that is the 7th k'atun (22-24) and the 10th k'atun (43-45). These k'atunendings break up the history into thirds. The first third runs from glyphs 13-21. The second third runs from glyphs 25-41 and the third third runs from glyphs 46-54.

Fig. 14

This again is from Floyd's work. This is the west panel from the Temple of the Inscriptions (Fig. 15). It begins with an IS, which is a single point in time, but as you go through the the entire history it is a k'atun-ending. There is a k'atun-ending here that is specified as a 5 (C6 D6). There's a k'atun-ending here that is specified as 9 (P3 Q3). There is a 13 tun-ending here (N1-N2). Here's another one specified as a k'atun-ending (K6 L6). Here's a hotun-ending specified there (H11 I11). Here is another k'atun-ending here (G8-G9). So the IS is 1 day in time. All of these are in the 19,000 year repetition. This one is in the 375,000 year repetition (P3 Q3). This one here begins with a CR and continues by saying it was the seating of the 10th k'atun and more specifically it says that those k'atuns were half of a bak'tun or 400 year period (S1-T3). That means that these can not repeat for 375,000 years minimum. These dates are also interlocking with the other tablets. In fact, if we look at the third tablet in this series, he not only connects his birth to the end of the first piktun, but he also connects his accession to the accession of another god with a prehistoric past and he locks his dates into a repetition that it at least 1 million years long. In order to move any of these dates, you have to move them 1 million years into the past or you have to move them 1 million years into the future and you have to move everything that is networked to them in these histories with them. other words, the old argument that you can change these to any 52 year repetition you want to is simply not true.



On this example from the Hieroglyphic Stairs (Fig.16) it is anchored to a LC which is a single day in linear time. So in fact, this can not be moved at all.

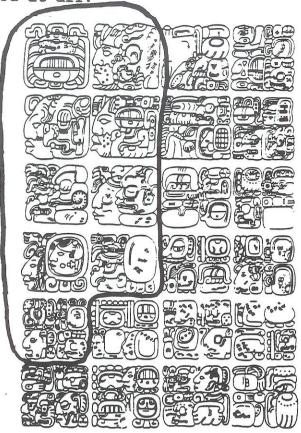
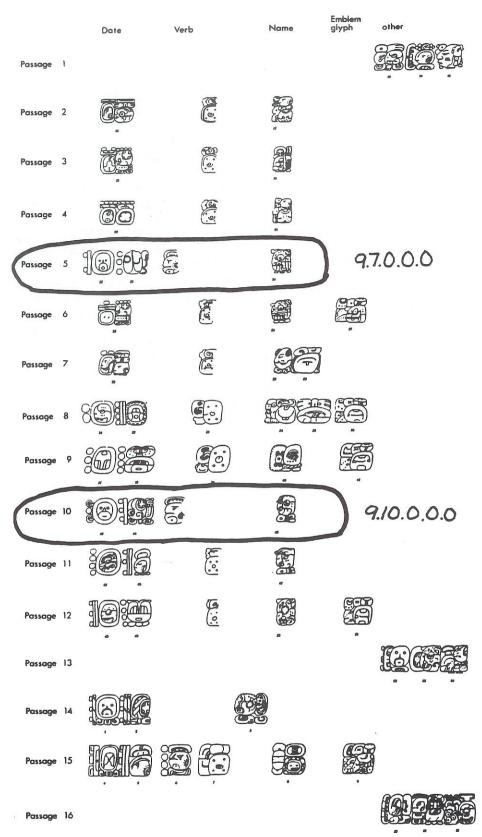


Fig.16

This is Peter Mathews' breakup of the text from the side of the sarcophagus (Fig. 17). The figure is made up of columns each containing the same function. There are dates, verbs, names, Emblem Glyphs (EG), and other recorded in his breakup. As you can see then, there are a series of CR's. By itself, the CR could repeat every 52 years. So in that situation you could move these forward or back in time by 52 years. Then in the second column you have exactly the same event which is read och bih which means "he entered the road" and then you have a series of different names. Now you could argue that you could change these every 52 years, but periodically, once here (Passage 5) and in the second group here (Passage 10) they are the ends of the k'atuns. This locks down the date to 9.7.0.0.0 and 9.10.0.0.0 respectively. From this then, all of the dates prior to Passage 5 must be before 9.7.0.0.0 and all of the dates after Passage 5 must be after 9.7.0.0.0 but before 9.10.0.0.0 and then all of the dates after 9.10.0.0.0 must be later. It is then very easy and logical as to their positions in the LC. That's the basic logic that we use to place these dates chronologically.



PALENQUE: THE SARCOPHAGUS LID EDGE, BREAKDOWN INTO PASSAGES (Drawing by Merle Greene Robertson)

Fig.17

What I want to emphasis here is that you can argue whether or not the history is real. You can argue whether it is constructed or not (whether they made it up). If they made it up, this would be the greatest conspiracy in the history of humanity. There is often an argument made that makes me sick to hear it. The argument is that "archaeology and things like physical anthropology are scientific" and what we do (epigraphy) you could put various terms for racism towards other people in its place and it's the same kind of horse. What I want you to understand here is that we are not dealing with scientific theory that says that they can look at bones and sex them. For example, let's say they look at a bone that's 80 years old and say that it was within 5 years when the individual died. A lot of the scientific theory that's used in archaeology hasn't had a reality check done on it yet and a couple of times that I know that reality checks have been done on it, for instance the skeletons that have been checked at Spitalfields in London, physical anthroplogy hasn't done very well. This that we are talking about is simply arithmetic. It's arithmetic that operates the same no matter what language or culture you are in the world. It's not a question of whether it is science or what we are saying is true or not, or whether what the Maya were doing was lying or not, it's simple arithmetic. All of us have computers now and in thirty seconds you can check on whether it is accurate or not. It will be accurate now. It was accurate 10,000 years ago and it will be accurate 5 million years from now because it is arithmetic. So in terms of chronology, there is not a lot of room for argument. In terms of the interpretations of the events on whether history is real or not we can debate that as long as we want to.

#### SAK HUN AND TU BA EXPRESSIONS

When Peter and I wrote our first paper on Palenque 20 years ago, we identified this particular accession phrase (Fig.18). For many years we didn't know how to read it and what I am going to do today is very quickly tell you how we think it is read, what it means, and how it operates in the larger framework of the Maya political symbolism. The verb is expressed as the "flat hand." We still do not know how to read it as a verb. Over the hand is a series of glyphs that include the Jester God, the knot, and the dotted winal sign. These can also have the sign for white attached to them as well, which is read sak. In the last two years I have given you a series of phonetic arguments which read this combination of signs in all of their variability as either hun or sak hun. Sak is the word for "white" and hun is the word for "bark" and it is also the word for "cloth made from bark." It apparently became the general name for the headdress. Today the Lacandon dress their little pots in headbands made of bark paper. It is then painted red as a symbolic replacement of blood.

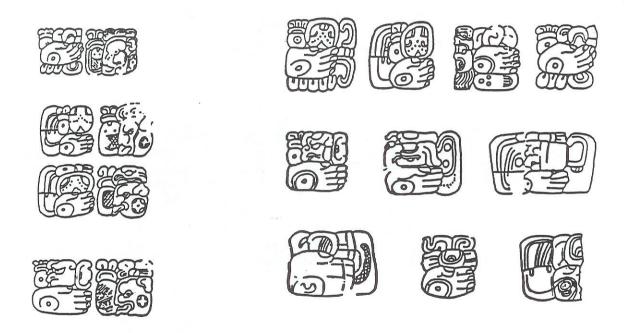


Fig. 18

In almost all cases, after this glyph you have a combination of signs that read tu ba or u tu ba. I have published a totally wrong interpretation of this. Vicky Bricker came very close to getting this right. In her own analysis of this she suggested that the ba is a reflexive. She refers to this as "he does something to himself." Barbara MacLeod then went to the papers of the Colonial Chontal and found that when you add tu to the ba and say tu ba it's not that you do it to yourself, but rather "it is done for him." We can now say that something is done with the headdress for him and the confirmation of this is shown in the next series of images.

This is what that act looks like at Palenque (Fig.19). This is the Oval Palace Tablet where Pakal's mother (on left) holds what is called the Drum Major Headdress. It is a tall cyclindrical headdress made of mosaics and feathers. She is holding it up to her son Pakal.

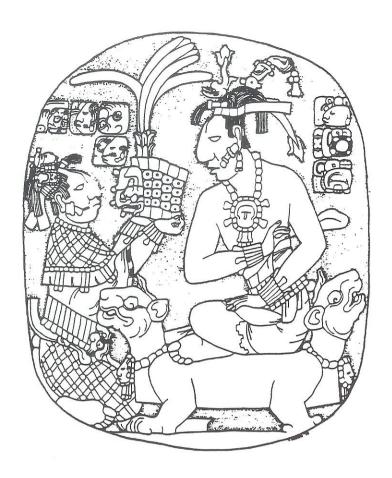


Fig. 19

Now there is a few places that lets us know how to read this. This is a tiny bone that is up in the Dallas Art Museum (Fig.20). It shows a god, probably one of the Paddlers, holding up a headdress high above his head and the headdress is not facing the seated ruler, but it's facing out behind to an audience that is standing behind the god. The text has a CR date followed by the flat hand verb (B2) and here's the hun (C1) followed by the tu ba (D1). This then, is the presentation of a headdress for him. It is being held up like that and it is being shown to an audience that is standing behind him.

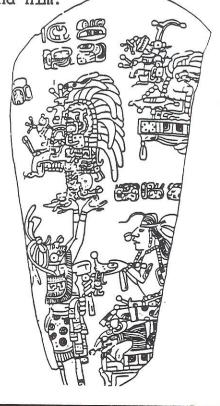


Fig.20

Now in contrast to that we have Stela 31 from Tikal (Fig.21). Stela 31 has the king, whose name is Stormy Sky or Kawil Chan, who is holding up an arm like this and in that arm is a headdress. Here is the earflare. Here is the bird that sits on top of the headdress. Here is the chin strap that holds it on and this is a chain apparently of jade that drops down and went to the belt. You can see that Stormy Sky is wearing one exactly like that here. Now when he holds this thing up, the event is here (B3 text) with the flat hand and here's the knot followed by his name (A4) and notice there is no tu ba here. So when you have a second person who holds up the headdress for the person you have tu ba written. When you have the person himself holding up the headband you don't have the tu ba. This particular headband is identified by a medallion on it and that medallion has a shield that is penetrated by atlatl darts and there is the owl of the war behind it. This combination of features (the owl, the shield, the darts) we know from the Aztec, from Teotihuacan, and from the Maya is one of the emblems of war. Now the title of the king specifically carried at Tikal is one that we are still not entirely sure of its name. I used to call it the "Makuch Title" and we are now calling it the "Machakte Title." It has two forms. It can have a ma, a ku, and a te and its head variant is a chak head with his hand carrying an axe. This particular title not only is a title of the high king of Tikal, but also a war title.

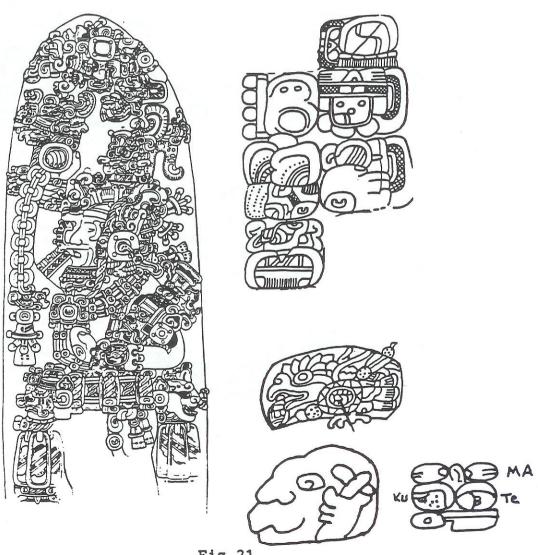


Fig. 21

Now if you go to the Palace Tablet at Palenque (Fig.22) the scene shows a presentation to the man about to become king (middle figure). This is his father (left figure) who is presenting for him the headdress and the mother (right figure) is presenting for her son a combination of an eccentric flint which is called tok' and a flayed-faced shield that is called pakal. The tok' pakal or the "flint shield" is the emblem of war for the Maya. So what we have on one side of the scene is the mother presenting the objects of war (tok' pakal) and on the other side is father presenting the Drum Major Headdress. Now the question is, what actually is going on?

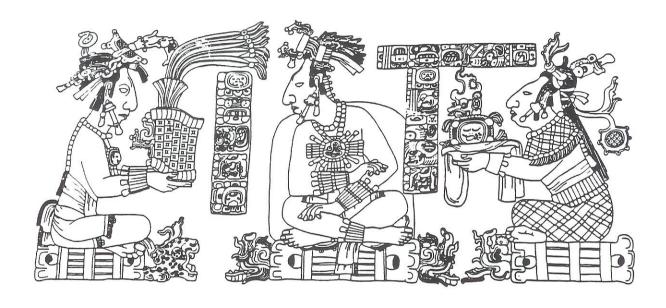


Fig. 22

If y look at this particular panel which was looted from Site Q (Fig.23) the critical phrase that I want to show you (Kris Villela has been a partner to this) is here at the bottom. You have an u, a ch'a, and a little half head, which is exactly the same as the glyphs that we have in Glyph F of the Supplementary Series. We take u ch'a to mean "to take or put on the headdress." This is the Jester God version of the headband which is hun and here we have the chak te. This is the war title and notice that the individual on the left in the scene is wearing the Tlaloc war complex. He is wearing the costume that is associated with Tlaloc/Venus warfare and warfare of conquest. This particular "Chak Te Title" is the military title that Maya kings carry. It's also related to the battle complex of Teotihuacan.

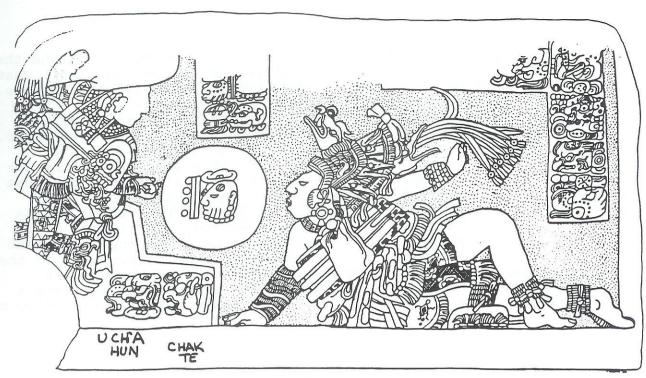


Fig.23

The other place that you can see this complex is on the sides of Stela 31 from Tikal. These are the father of the king (Curl Snout) and he is wearing the proto-type of the Drum Major Headdress on one side (right side) and the Mosaic Monster on the other (left side). This is the head that is on the Temple of Quetzalcoatl at Teotihuacan. It is also the head that Karl Taube identified as the War Serpent. As you can see in the text, the same title (the Machak Te Title) is carried by the people that wear these on the inside. So these particular headdresses and this long square shield with the Tlaloc image on it is the marker of this particular title and the particular accession that we are getting.



Whenever you see this flat hand verb with a sak hun in it and the tu ba attached to it is not just that he is taking the headband. What we now know is that he is taking on the title of Venus/Tlaloc warfare. He is becoming the chief military officer of the city.

Now we are going to start out with the dynastic history of Palenque. This is going to be very different than any other workshop, except last years', that I've ever done. I have always done whole texts for you. We are not doing whole texts this year, but rather we are taking in chronological sequence all of the critical clauses that give us historical information about the reigns of the particular rulers. That means that the texts will be broken up in terms of the entire sequence of the text. So this year we are not going to be involved in discourse or anything else. What we are going to try and do here in honor of Floyd and Merle, who have been instrumental in the recovery of this dynastic history, is lay out for you the flow of history of the site and talk to you about how epigraphers generate a dynastic history of a city in order to understand the political flow of a particular king in history.

#### THE ROYAL NAMES OF THE PALENQUE DYNASTY

In passing we have noted several rather strange-looking names belonging to the lords of Palenque. In most cases.

In passing we have noted several rather strange-looking names belonging to the lords of Palenque. In most cases these names represent the literal reading of the lord's name glyphs, in an ancestral Chol Maya language. A few names have not yet been deciphered: in those cases, provisional nicknames have been ascribed.

In several cases, the names used in this Workbook differ from names used in earlier publications. I therefore include below a concordance to serve as a guide. In the pages that follow, I devote a page to each of these individuals, and include (1) a discussion of their name glyphs, (2) all extant texts that mention them, and (3) their portrait, if it exists (on the Sides of the Sarcophagus). Palenque: a concordance of royal names.

Name used in this V	Vorkbook I	Earlier Name	Reference	
K'uk'-B	C k E	Quetzal Kuk I Bahlum-K'uk' I	(Berlin 1965) (Kelley 1976) (Schele 1978) (Schele 1981; 1984;1987) (Schele and Freidel 1990)	
	E	Eleven Rabbit 'Casper''	Topic 4 (Berlin 1965) (Kelley 1976) (Schele 1978; 1981; 1984; (Schele and Freidel 1990)	1987)
Butzah-S	u	'Manik"	Topic 5 (Berlin 1965) (Schele 1978; 1981; 1984; (Schele and Freidel 1990)	1987)
Akul-Ah		Cauac-Uinal I Cauac-Uinal I Chaacal I Chaacal I, Ah Nabe Chaac I	(Berlin 1965) (Lounsbury 1974) (Greene Robertson 1976) (Schele 1978) (Schele 1981; 1984; 1987) (Kelley 1985) (Schele and Freidel 1990)	
K'an-Ho	l l	Kan-Xul Hok	(Berlin 1965) (Lounsbury 1974) (Greene Robertson 1976) (Schele 1978; 1981; 1984; (Kelley 1985) (Schele and Freidel 1990)	1987)
Akul-Ah		Topic 8 Cauac-Uinal II Cauac-Uinal II Chaacal II Chaacal II, Ah Nabe Chaac II Chaacal II	(Berlin 1965) (Lounsbury 1974) (Greene Robertson 1976) (Schele 1978) (Schele 1981; 1984; 1987) (Kelley 1985) (Schele and Freidel 1990)	
Kan-Bat	] ] (	Topic 9 Bahlum Bahlum Chan-Bahlum I Chan Bahlum I Chan-Bahlum I	(Berlin 1965) (Lounsbury 1974) (Greene Robertson 1976) (Schele 1978; 1981; 1984; (Kelley 1985) (Schele and Freidel 1990)	1987)
Lady Oli	] ] ]	Lady ik Lady Kan-ik Lady K'anal-ik'ai (Sche Kan ik Lady Kanal ikal Fig. 25	(Lounsbury 1974) (Greene Robertson 1976) le 1980; 1983; 1986) (Kelley 1985) (Schele and Freidel 1990)	el .

Name used in this Workbook	Earlier Name	Reference
Ah Ne-Ol-Mat	Aahc-Kan Aahc-Kan Ah K'an Aahc Kan Ac-Kan	(Lounsbury 1974) (Greene Robertson 1976) (Schele 1980; 1983; 1986 (Kelley 1985) (Schele and Freidel 1990)
Hanab-Pakal I	Pacal [I] Pacal 1st Pacal I Pacal I	(Lounsbury 1974) (Greene Robertson 1976) (Kelley 1985) (Schele and Freidel 1990)
Lady Sak-K'uk'	Lady Zac-Kuk Lady Zac-Kuk Lady Zac-K'uk' Lady Zac-Kuk	(Lounsbury 1974) (Greene Robertson 1976) (Schele 1980; 1983; 1986) (Schele and Freidel 1990)
K'an-Bahlam-Mo'	Kan-Bahlum-Mo'o Bahlum-Mo'o K'an-Bahlum-Mo' Kan-Bahlum-Mo'	(Lounsbury 1974) (Greene Robertson 1976) (Schele 1980; 1983; 1986) (Schele and Freidel 1990)
Hanab-Pakal II	Lady Eight Flower Pacal [II] Lord Shield Pacal Lord Shield Pacal Pakal II Pakal the Great	(Kelley 1976) (Lounsbury 1974) (Mathews and Schele 1974) (Greene Robertson 1976) (Schele 1980; 1983; 1 6) (Schele and Freidel 1 )

#### Fig. 26

This is a quick statement to explain the chronology that we will be using. In the recovery of the dynastic history of this city we will be using three main ancestral texts; the right half of the Tablet of the Cross, the East Tablet of the Temple of the Inscriptions, and edge text on the sarcophagus lid. Each one of these texts uses a different formula. In the Temple of the Cross, the text begins by saying that it has been so much time since the person was born until the person had this headdress displayed for him. Then it will give you who the person is and it will tell you which day, usually, the headdress was displayed on. They will often not tell you on which day he was born, but if I say that in my 50th year I gave the 17th workshop on March 13, 1993 in Austin, you can figure out when I was born. In this case it was 1942, but that's exactly what they are doing here. They are saying that so many years after he was born and then he became the king. So that DN

is also a date, so by subtracting the DN from the date of his accession you can get the day on which he was born. That's the first formula.

The second formula, Floyd discovered and demonstrated for the first time to an astonished class that I was in in 1975 at Yale. The East Panel of the Temple of the Inscriptions celebrates a series of k'atun-endings. They say that so many days, months, and years after he was seated in reign then ended a particular k'atun. If more than one king succeded in a k'atun then they link the accession to either a half-period of 10 tuns or they also could link it to the 13th tun in a k'atun. The minute that they do that they lock these accessions into a

cycle of 375,000 years.

The third list comes from the sarcophagus lid edge and it gives all of the deaths of all of the kings in chronological order. If a king is mentioned in the Tablet of the Cross, the East Tablet of the Temple of the Inscriptions, and on the sarcophagus we have a ruler's birth, accession, and death. If he happens to be only mentioned on the Tablet of the Cross then we have his birth and accession only, but how can we figure out when he died or a range for his death? By looking at the next ruler. He is going to die within a year or so when the next person accedes, so this gives you a ballpark figure for how old he was. If a king only shows up on the Temple of the Inscriptions upper panels and the sarcophagus then we have the day of his accession and the day he died. Can you figure out when he was born? Now, you can't because the range is too much. Once you get past the ancestral history you go forward then we have a lot of different events.

The dynastic history we present in this workbook is the result of twenty years of collaborative work between the mini-conference group that was first formed by Elizabeth Benson in the months after the First Mesa Redonda of Palenque. Our work began at the First Mesa Redonda and continued at Dumbarton Oaks. When Betty left DO, we decided to continue on our own. Through the 1980s, we met several times-once a year if we could-in Peter's offices at the Peabody Museum at Harvard. When Peter left the Corpus project to go to Calgary, Linda decided to use her professorship to continue the meetings. Since 1989, we have met once a year in Calgary. The original members of the mini-conference group were David Kelley, Merle Robertson, Floyd Lounsbury, Peter Mathews, and Linda Schele. Other epigraphers have joined us over the years for one or another of our meetings, but the group has remained essentially the same.

The other great contribution to the history as presented here has come from these Workshops in Austin. Since they began in 1977, Schele has focussed on Palenque as the main theme. Until 1986, texts from Palenque were always presented, and since the Advanced Seminar and Practicums began, the participants must work with Palenque texts as their first experience at decipherment. Over the seventeen years of the workshops and the more than ten of the Advanced workshops, the participants have made many small and large contributions to our understanding. Many of you, when you were confused beginners and after you became skilled epigraphers, have contributed to my understanding of the texts of Palenque. Their decipherment has truly been a collaborative effort. In the past, the workshop has concentrated on the texts of one building or one king at Palenque. This is the first time, we have tried to present the whole of the dynastic history since the early Mesa Redonda papers by Mathews and Schele (1974) and by Lounsbury (1974). In celebration of the twentieth-year anniversary of the First Mesa Redonda and in honor of Merle and Floyd, we decided to put it all together and to present the broad sweep of history at Palenque.

Our chronologies and historical interpretations of the Early Classic history are based on the four great retrospective texts in the Temple of the Cross, on the east and middle panels of the Temple of Inscriptions, on the edge of the sarcophagus lid, and the sides of the sarcophagus in the Temple of Inscriptions. These extraordinary texts presented difficult chronological problems that have been the focus of study since the turn of the century. Most of them were finally solved by the mini-conference team in 1975. Publications of the various solutions include Lounsbury 1976 and the 1978, 1981, 1984, 1987 workbooks for the Workshop on Maya Hieroglyphic Writing. We were lucky enough to be in Floyd Lounsbury's 1975-1976 seminar on Maya Hieroglyphic Writing at Yale University, when he presented the formula used in the east panel of the Temple of Inscriptions. Schele's 1980, 1983, 1986 workbooks for the Texas Workshops were expansions of Lounsbury's original analysis, and he has now published his own analysis of the chronological and discourse patterns in this extraordinary text. Berlin's (in Ruz 1973:113-114) chronology was substantially the same as Lounsbury's. Floyd Lounsbury (1974) first published the paraphrases and chronological solution to the history on the sarcophagus lid. However, Heinrich Berlin (n.d.) worked out exactly the same chronology and came to many of the same conclusions concerning the history recorded on the sarcophagus in a 1975 paper that he declined to publish after the appearance Lounsbury's work in 1974. He (Berlin 1977:129-147) published an overall analysis of Palenque's early history in his large study of Maya glyphs published in Guatemala. Although some details are different, the overall chronology and historical reconstruction is essentially the same as ours.

Each of these great retrospective texts records its historical information in a formula specific to the discourse structure of that text. In the Temple of the Cross, the birth of each king is connected by a Distance Number to his date of accession. These Distance Numbers, of course, give the age of each king when he acceded, but they also allowed us to reconstruct the dates of his birth by subtracting his ages from his accession date. The chronology of the TC was locked into place by two devices: The earliest births and accessions were tied to the Initial Series date, and the later history was anchored to the period ending 9.0.0.0.0.

While the Long Count positions of the Calendar Round dates on the Temple of the Cross can be disputed, those on the east panel of the Temple of Inscriptions cannot. In the discourse formula of that inscription, each accession is linked by Distance Number to the nearest major period ending. The scribes preferred to use a k'atun ending, but sometimes more than one accession had occurred within a k'atun. In these cases, they used a lahuntum or oxlahuntum as required for the anchor date. Since the chronological span of the Temple of Inscriptions covered the nine k'atuns between 9.4.0.0.0 and 9.13.0.0.0, any accession that fell between those dates was securely anchored to the Long Count.

The same nine k'atuns provide the chronological framework of the sarcophagus lid, where the deaths of the kings are recorded. Lounsbury's (1974) analysis demonstrated that the sequence of these deaths are anchored by the k'atun endings 9.7.0.0.0 and 9.10.0.0.0. Berlin (1977:136) observed that these two k'atun endings divide the nine

k'atuns of the histories above into the three parts of three k'atuns each.

Since the histories of these three texts overlap and anchor into the Long Count in different ways, they provide one of the most detailed and complete dynastic histories now known for the Early Classic period. Those rulers appearing in all three lists have their birth, accession, and death dates preserved. For those in only one or two of the lists, we are missing either their birth or death, but some of this missing data can be deduced from other information. For example, we can assume that a ruler must have died within a year or so of the accession of his successor. This does not give us a date of death, but it gives us a range within which it must fall.

The sarcophagus' sides are another source of information about the Early Classic kings and their relationships. Back in 1975, Linda ended up with the sides as her part of the mini-conference studies. In that study, now revised several times and unfortunately not yet published, she first tried to explain how the pattern of figures on the sides could be used to propose kinship relationship. She assumed that persons whose births were close together-that is, ten years or less apart-were in the same generation and probably brothers. In the Early Classic lists, there are three sets of people like this: (1) Butz'ah-Sak-Chik [Manik] and Akul-Ah Nab I [Chaakal II] (2) Akul-Ah Nab I [Chaakal II] and Kan-Balam I; and (3) Newal-Mat [Ah-Kan] and Hanab-Pakal I. The sarcophagus shows portraits of only one of each of these pairs: Akul-Ah Nab I, Kan-Balam I, and Hanab-Pakal I. In 1975, Linda looked at this pattern and realized that the best explanation of it is that the member of the pair that is pictured must be the person through whom the direct line descended. Interestingly, each example has the line descending through the younger brother.

# The Ancestral Texts The Sarcophagus

The sarcophagus was discovered by Alberto Ruz Lhuillier in June 1992, when he entered the famous tomb under the Temple of Inscriptions. The inscription was carved around the edge of the huge lid that covered the coffin. Heinrich Berlin first identified historical figures in the text and in the portraits on the sides of the sarcophagus, and although Ruz never accepted the results of Berlin's analysis, he also worked out the chronology of the dates. Floyd Lounsbury's 1974 analysis was the first decipherment that argued the chronology and identification of the dates and figures correctly. Berlin had written his own analysis that he declined to publish after seeing Floyd's work. He told us that no further proof was needed, although he did include his own ideas about Palenque's dynasty in his 1977 Signos y Significados en las Inscripciones Mayas. His chronologies and identifications are in essential agreement with Floyd's. Since that time, two additional important insights have been added to the analyses published in these early studies. Kathryn Josserand made a very good argument that text began on the east side rather than on the south as we had earlier thought. Then David Stuart deciphered the verb that is used in most of the clauses as och bih, "he entered the road." Last year, Matt Looper realized that this expression refers to the picture on the sarcophagus lid and that it shows Pakal falling down the Milky Way—the Xibalba Bih—in the moment of his death.

The formula of the sarchophagus begins with the dedication of the coffin, and then the phase "on such and such a day, he entered the road, so-in-so." Only calendar round dates are given, so that one would think that they could be adjusted by fifty-two years as needed. But as both Berlin and Lounsbury pointed out, the calendar rounds are divided into thirds by the period endings 9.7.0.0.0 and 9.10.0.0.0. These period endings lock the chronology so that all the deaths written in front of 9.7.0.0.0 were earlier; all those written between the two pes fell between them chronologically; and all those after the 9.10.0.0.0 were later. The calendar round of the death of Lady Sak-K'uk' was even split apart so that the period ending that locked it in place chronologically could be written inside it, like a Maya parenthesis. Finally, the last two glyphs on the west side record the parentage of Pakal and the south end records his birth and death while remarking that 4 k'atun-endings fell between the two events. The text ends with a reference to the succession and its relationship to a Vision Serpent that tied Pakal to his descendants.

See the full analysis of the full text in Part 3.

# The Panels of the Temple of Inscriptions

Floyd Lounsbury was the first person to detect the formula used in this text. We both remember the first time he presented it in his 1975-1976 seminar on Maya hieroglyphic writing at Yale. I still have the handout he gave to all of us in the course. He realized that the formula uses distance numbers to link the seating of all the kings who reigned between 9.4.0.0.0 and 9.12.0.0.0 to period endings. The scribes preferred to use k'atun endings, but when more than one king acceded in a particular k'atun, they would link the seatings to a lahuntun or a oxlahuntun. The important aspect of this text is that all of the rulers who appear in it—that is, Akul-Ah Nab I, K'an-Hok'-Chitam I, Akul-Ah Nab II, Kan-Balam I, Lady Olnal [K'an-Ik'al], Newal, Lady Sak-K'uk', and Pakal II—are tied to the end of k'atun, lahuntun, or oxlahuntuns. More important is the fact that these period endings are named by calendar round and often the precise number of tuns. For example, Pakal's accession is linked to 1 Ahaw 8 K'ayab, which is also named the "end of the ten k'atun, half of a bak'tun." When events are linked to named period-endings, they are locked into the long count in cycles of a minimum length of 37,000 years. The date 1 Ahaw 8 K'ayab occurs on the "end of 10 k'atuns, half a bak'tun" only once in this Creation. Floyd showed how these phrases work, but he also detected a repeated pattern in the period ending sections that he used to reconstruct missing pieces of the text. These patterns are shown in the full decipherment given in Section 3.

# The Tablet of the Cross

The same people show up on the Tablet of the Cross in yet another formula. Here a distance number connects their births to their accessions, although the scribes often did not write the calendar round date of the birth. This odd formula led to the trouble people have had with the TC since it was published by Maudslay. Early analyses by people like Long and Berlin presumed that the distance numbers fit between the written calendar rounds. It was not until we understood how the *iwal* and -*i* affixes worked that we realized that the calendar rounds of the births usually were not written. The distance numbers give the ages of the kings at their accessions, and their birth dates must be reconstructed from the arithmetic. The locking date is the end of 9 bak'tuns set into the text near the beginning of the sequence. The accession dates in this text match those recorded in the east panel of the Temple of Inscriptions, so that the two texts are cross-confirming.

# Other Texts and our Strategy

In previous workshops, we have concentrated on one set of texts. This time we want to concentrate on the overall pattern of history as it unfolded at Palenque. In order to shift the focus in this way, we are going to focus on each individual king, rather than on whole texts. We have juxtaposed all the clauses regarding the reigns of each king regardless of which inscription they come from. We have included our decipherments of the most critical texts in Section 3 for those who are interested.

F15-F16)	1. 6. 7.13				
	+(5. 7.11. 8. 4	1 K'an	2 Kumk'u)	implied	
Q 2-P 3)	(5. 8.17.15.17)	11 Kaban	0 Pohp		
P 4-Q 4)	(8.18. 0.13. 6)	5 Kimi	14 K'ayab	?A#	TO G
P 6-Q 6)	1. 2. 5.14				
	+(8.18.12.15.10	1 Ok	18 Pax)	??? implied A#	
Q 8-P 9)	(8.19.15. 3 4)	1 K'an	2 K'ayab	?#	
					(Agrical)
P10-Q10)	(8.19. 6. 8. 8)	11 Lamat	6 Xul		
P12-Q12)	+ 13.3.9				PA III
P14-Q14)	(8.19.19.11.17)	2 Kaban	10 Xul		
P15)	+6.3				2
Q17-R 2)	9. 0. 0. 0. 0	8 Ahaw	13 Keh	E9BT	
R 3-R 4)	1. 8. 1.18				
	+(9. 1. 4. 5. 0	12 Ahaw	13 Sak)	implied	
R 7-S 7)	(9. 2.12. 6.18)	3 Etz'nab	ll Xul		
R 8-R 9)	1.16. 7.17				
R10-S10)	+(9. 1.10. 0. 0)	5 Ahaw	3 Sek	F	90
S12-R13)	(9. 3. 6. 7.17)	5 Kaban	0 Sotz		

The dates of the second half of the main text of the Tablet of the Cross.

	1.19. ÷( <u>9. 2.15.</u>		Lamat	6	Wo)	implied	
R17-S17)	(9. 4.14.1	.0.4) 5	K'an	12	K'ayab		
T 1-T 2)	2. 2. +( <u>9. 4. 9.</u> (9. 6.11.	4.17 0.4 7	K'an	17	Mol	implied	
U 6-T 7)	1.	1. 1					
U10-T11)	+(9.4.9.	0.4) 7	K'an	17	Mol		
	(9. 4.10.	1. 5 11	Chikchan	13	Ch'en)	implied	
U11-U12)	2. 8.	4. 7					
T14-U14)	+(9. 4.10.	1. 5) 11	Chikchan	13	Ch'en		
	(9. 6.18.	5.12 10	Eb	0	Wo)	implied	
							Circo
T15-U15)	19.	8. 2					
	+(9. 4.10.	1. 5 11	Chikchan	13	Ch'en)	implied	
60 ca ca	(9. 5. 9.	9.7 6 M	Manik'	20	Keh)	implied	
	ET end o	of tun					

ET end of tun

EKT end of k'atun

EBT end of bak'tun

EPP end of period

IS Initial Series

other Long Count positions possiblealternative date possibilities

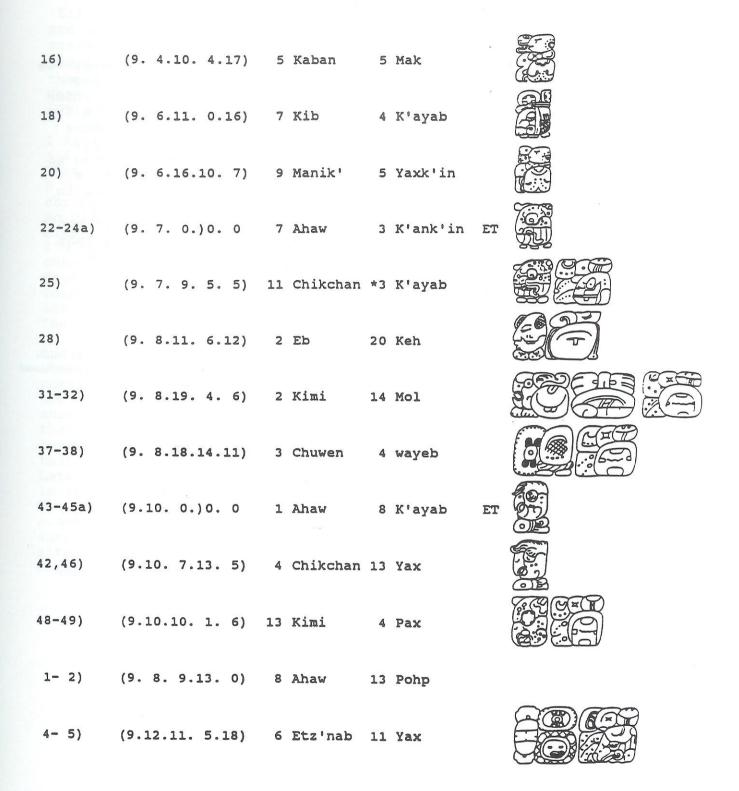
The dates of the second half of the main text of the Tablet of the Cross (continued).

A 1-A 6)	9. 4. 0. 0. 0	13 Ahaw	18 Yax	IS
	- <u>13.10.3</u> (9.3.6.7.17	5 Kaban	0 Sotz')	implied (1.0.)
	5. 7.16 +( <u>9. 4.14.10. 4</u> (9.)5. 0. 0. 0			
F 4-E 5)	(9. 6. 0. 0. 0)	9 Ahaw	3 wayeb	
F 6-E 7)	(9. 5.17.17. 3)	13 Ak'bal	16*Kumk'u	??
F 7-F 8)	(9.5.)17. 0. 0	8*Ahaw	13*Pohp	? E17T
	1.12.19 +(9.6.11.5.1 (9.6.)13.0.0			
	1.12. 8 +(9. 6.18. 5.12 (9. 7. 0. 0. 0)			implied
I10-I11)	(9. 7.)5. 0. 0	13 Ahaw	18 Keh	E5T E3: C

The dates of the First Tablet of the Temple of the Inscriptions.

	9.14.12 +(9.7.10.3.8 (9.8.0.)0.0	9 Lamat 5 Ahaw		implied TOTAL
	\		18 Muwan) 18 Sek	The state of the s
M 7-N 7)	6.14 +( <u>9.8.17.9.0</u> ) (9.8.17.15.14)		18 Mak 7 Wo	
	10. 2 +( <u>9. 8.19. 7.18</u> (9.)9. 0. 0. 0	9 Etz'nab 3 Ahaw		implied ET, E9KT
O 6-P 6)	9. 9.(0. 0. 0	3 Ahaw	3 Sotz')	9BT,9KT
Q 3-R 3)	(9. 9. 0.)0. 0	3 Ahaw	(3 Sotz')	ET CONTRACTOR
<b>a</b> a a	17.13.12 +(9. 9. 2. 4. 8 (9.)10. 0. 0. 0		1 Mol) 8 K'ayab	implied ON TOTAL ET, E10KT, E3BT
S 8-T 8)	(9.10.)0. 0. 0	1 Ahaw	(8 K'ayab)	

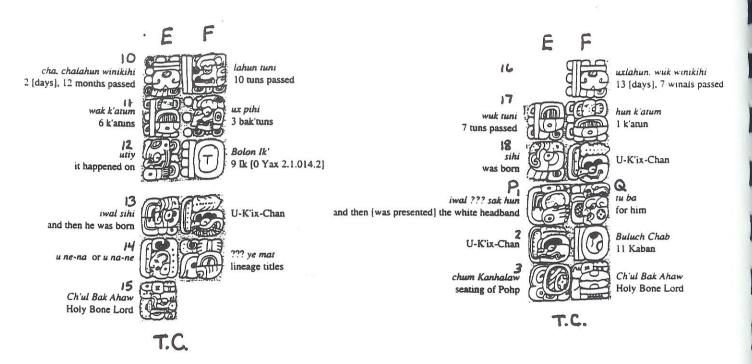
The dates of the First Tablet of the Temple of the Inscriptions (continued).



The dates of the Sarcophagus Lid Edge.

### U-K'IX-CHAN, THE "OLMEC"

This is the first historical person that we have for Palenque. We will first start out with an anchor date. What the Maya do is they anchor his accession to the accession of the mother of the gods, which was in the text just previous to this passage on the Tablet of the Sun (Tig.32). It was 2 k'ins, 12 winals (E10), 10 tuns (F10), 6 k'atuns (E11), and 3 bak'tuns (F11) and then it happened (E12) 9 Ik' (F12). This is the lock date on which the mother of the gods accedes. You go forward 1200 years after that and then he was born (E13). There is debate on how to read the birth frog glyph. Phonetically, we know in some instances it's the syllable hu, but here it's likely to be a logograph and the best candidate for its reading is sih. This person's name is read u k'ix (stingray spine) chan (F13). The next two glyphs are titles that I can not read (E14 F14) and following that is the Palenque EG (E15) and it is read ch'ul bak ahaw.



## Fig.32

A lot of people say that because the people of Palenque present the births, the accessions, and the deaths of gods that you can throw out all of the history as being fabricated. This is because if they expect you to believe that a god could give birth to a baby at 754 years old, then obviously the rest of it is crazy too. But what I want you to see here is that this person, as we will find out, is a legendary person. If this person can be seen to be treated as a human being than you can see right away how they would contrast it. What I want you to hear is the next DN.

The next clause says that it was 13 k'ins, 7 winals (F15), 6 tuns (E16), and 1 k'atun (F16). Now that's 26 years. Is that the age of a god or the age of a human? A human. It's deliberately scaled to human scale. We now know that this legendary person is being treated as a human being. So 1.6.7.13 after he was born (E17) U K'ix Chan (F17) and then he displayed or took the sak hun (P1) tu ba "for him (Q1) U K'ix Chan (P2) on 11 Kaban (Q2) the seating of Pohp (P3) the ch'ul bak ahaw (Q3).

Here's the chronology (Fig. 33). His birth occurred on 5.7.11.8.4 1 Kan 2 Kumk'u. That is March 11, 993 B.C.. Twenty-six years later or 1.6.7.13 on the day 5.8.17.15.17 11 Kaban 0 Pohp he took the headband. That occurred on March 28, 967 B.C.. Now if we are talking about 967 B.C. for his accession and 993 B.C. for his birth what is that chronologically for the history of Mesoamerica? It means that he was an Olmec. If you look at the Popol Vul and Aztec history who were the great people that the Quiche and others claimed origin in? The Olmec. I'm sure the Maya didn't call him an Olmec. I'm sure that the Maya conjected that there was somebody reigning their site at that time. doubt very seriously that the archaeology is going to support that. think that this is made up, but the point of the matter is that they are claiming an ancester at the time of the great civilization that they saw as the origin of poltical institutions.

There is another possibility here. For example on Tikal Stela 31 and in other Early retrospective texts there is a lot of emphasis on where the particular toponyms of where accessions took place. It's possible this was a real person who acceded someplace else that they are claiming. It is a possibility, but they are calling him a ch'ul ahaw of Palenque. I'm not projecting to you or even trying to claim that there is any archaeological evidence at Palenque that Palenque was operational or even populated at this time. However, you should know that in the palenque region over on the Usumacinta there are lots of Late Pre-Classic and Middle Pre-Classic sites that have never been investigated. They are huge and it's one of the most important Late Pre-Classic and Middle Pre-Classic areas that hasn't seen any consistant archaeological investigation. I would not at all be surprised if U K'ix Chan was not associated with one of those major sites in that area. So while Palenque itself doesn't have a real strong Late Pre-Classic history the region does.

> 5.7.11.8.4, 1 Kan 2 Cunhu, G2. Moon 8.90, S.Abn. -40.64 JD 1358809. -992 Mar Lo 'Julian', -992 Mar 11 (Gregorian), Friday. Ven -88. Jup -119.

1 6 7 13 DN

5.8.17.15.17, 11 Caban 0 Pop, G2. Moon 13.06, S.Abn. -59.69 JD 1368322. -966 Apr 6 (Julian), -966 Mar 28 (Gregorian), Friday. Ven +82. Jup -179. OK

Fig. 33

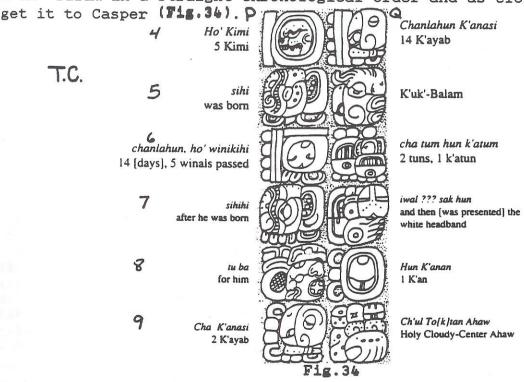
Let me explain something to you about the names at Palenque. the first Mesa Redunda we gave the kings rather silly nicknames. called K'an-Hok'-Chitam "Lord Toothache." Moses Morales protested. He said that we were committing major acts of indignity against the Maya kings and that they had the right to be known by Mayan names not nicknames in Spanish or nicknames in English. Other scholars argued vigorously against that and we had a vote. The vigorous scholars lost and the entire group of people decided to name the new kings that had been discovered in Chol Maya as close as we could. In the many years since then, I must say, I agree with the decision. I think that it's important that we say Pakal and not shield and I think that it's It's important important that we say Yaxun Balam and not Bird Jaguar. to recognize the humanity and the cultural origin of these people. It's important for us to do it because it's important to the living Maya. When you start looking at the site histories like Tikal that has Ruler A, Ruler B, and so forth then all of a sudden you find a ruler between A and B then what do you do? Do you call him B1. In the early years we made in some cases real good guesses and in other cases we made real bad guesses on what their name values were. In a lot of cases now we have good phonetic evidence of what the original names actually were. Peter and I in various publications have been playing around with correcting those names over the last 20 years, but we have There still may not formally done it. This is the formal correction. be some corrections in the future, but you are now going to strat seeing us use what we think was the actual phonetic value for these Now the Founder, for instance, K'uk'-Balam is now reversed because the name ends up having a ma suffux on it as the final sign so that tells you that the balam is the last glyph read. So his name, we believe now was not Balam-K'uk', but rather K'uk'-Balam or Quetzal Jaguar.

U-K'ix-Chan is the first character in human history to be presented on a human scale. Early personages, such as First Mother, are clearly shown to be supernatural by the scale of time associated with them. First Mother and First Father, for example, were born before this Creation began. First Mother was 761 years old when she had her children. U-K'ix-Chan's birth is linked by distance number to First Mother's accession (or at least to the date the scribe intended to associate with her accession), the scale of time associated with him is human. He was 26 years old when he acceded to office. Ho ver, the dates of his birth (March 11, 993 B.C.) and his accession (March 28, 967 B.C.) clearly place him in the category of legendary time. We have always thought of him as the Olmec in Palenque history, for if the Classic period claimed descent from the legendary past, as the Postclassic peoples claimed descent from the Toltec and Tollan, then the Olmec would have been the equivalent of the Toltec for the Classic period.

#### K'UK'-BALAM, THE FOUNDER

There has been debate also about the placing of K'uk'-Balam's LC date. Floyd, back in 1975, wanted to put it in the same time period as the Olmec and I think that there are other people who agree with that placement. What has happened to us to convince us otherwise is working with David Stuart and using Copan as the first instance where we could actual identify them. We now know that these various sites had dynasties and that it was very important in the way the dynstic history was portrayed to speak of Founders. The Founders of these dynasties are absolutely critical. So what we believe because of the way in which K'uk'-Balam is presented in the inscriptions that he was in fact the Founder of the dynasty and not a legendary character. So we choose to put him in historic time rather than legendary time. In this case we are going to place him in a chronological position that we believe is rational.

This passage begins with day 5 Kimi (P4) 14 K'ayab (Q4) since he was born (P5) K'uk'-Balam (Q2). The problem with that is that 5 Kimi 14 K'ayab occurs every 52 years, so we don't know how to anchor it down. There are anchors however. The next phrase after this is anchored to 9.0.0.0.0 so we know that it has to be before that. We have taken the CR in those positions that sit immediately before that 9.0.0.0 date that the king was reigning at the time. So we've put K'uk'-Balam in a straight chronological order and as close as we could



The text continues with a DN of 14 k'ins, 5 winals (P6), 2 tuns, and 1 k'atun (Q6) after he was born (P7) and then was displayed (Q7) the sak hun for him (P8) on 1 K'an (Q8) 2 K'ayab (P9). Now the problem is that DN of 42 years does not fit between those two CR's. There is an arithmatical mistake here and we do not know how to solve it. These are the various solutions that Peter showed (Fig.35). If you take the 5 Kimi 14 K'ayab in it's most likely position of 8.18.0.13.6 and you add the DN to it you get the date 8.19.3.1.0 5 Ahaw 18 K'ayab which is not written anywhere. If you take the date of his accession 1 K'an 2 K'ayab, which falls on 8.19.15.3.4 and you subtract the DN from it you

get 8.18.12.15.10 1 Ok 18 Pax which is also not written. Now you have a choice of accepting the DN as the correct one and reject one of the two CR's or accepting the CR's as accurate and presume that they made a mistake in the DN. I decided to accept the two CR's and reject the DN. You have the option of going the other way. To me, knowing what I know about Maya calendrics it is much easier to know what the CR's are and make a mistake in calculating what the DN ought to be between them than it is to misapply a DN because the CR's of these dates would have been recorded in books and they would have known that. The thing they would have calculated is the amount of time between them.

P4-Q4) (8.18. 0.13. 6) 5 Kimi 14 K'ayab birth
P6-Q6) + 1. 2. 5.14 (8.19. 3. 1. 0 5 Ahaw 18 K'ayab accession.

And yet we have 1 K'an 2 K'ayab recorded as the accession date! If the birth date of Passage 7 was wrongly recorded, then we have another possibility:

76-Q6) + 1.2.5.14 Q8-P9) (8.19.15.3.4) 1 K'an 2 K'ayab accession.

The third possibility is that the Distance Number was incorrectly recorded, and that the two dates recorded are in fact correct:

P4-Q4) (8.18. 0.13. 6) 5 Kimi 14 K'ayab birth P6-Q6) + 1.14. 7.18 Q8-P9) (8.19.15. 3. 4) 1 K'an 2 K'ayab accession.

#### Fig.35

Basically, it's a choice between simple errors and complex errors. You should always try a choose the simplest error or the one easiest to understand and the most transparent. In this case the DN would be the easiest error. I must emphasize here and Floyd has the best example of it. Sometimes things that we think are errors because we don't understand them end up being on purpose later when we come to understand what we are trying to do. What I'm telling you here is that we have not yet found a rational reason for these mistakes and in this case why the DN doesn't fit between the two CR's. Until an explanation comes along I have to go from the position that there is a mistake here and I choose the simplest explanation that there is an error in the DN. So we take this solution that he was born on the day 8.18.0.13.6 5 Kimi 14 K'ayab and that the headband was displayed for him on 8.19.15.3.4 1 K'an 2 K'ayab.

We have other information that is very important about him. He is mentioned on a series of texts that don't have dates associated with them in various places throughout the city. The most important thing that we need to find out about him is here on the Tablet of the Foliated Cross. His name is here at E8. The glyph that occurs with him in the position where you would normally find the EG is not the standard Palenque EG. It is a glyph that has three components. They are ko, to, tan, and ahaw. From this position you would want it to

read kot tan as the name (Fig. 36), but let's look at other examples. P Q 0 Tok Tan Ahaw Tok Tan 2 T.S Tok Tan Ahaw T.C. Fig.36

Here it operates exactly as an EG (TFC) at E9. Here we have the to ko tan ahaw (TC) at Q9. This particular location, because this is a toponym, shows up on the Tablet of the Sun and it is an heir designation of the first K'an-Hok'-Chitam. It says it happened at (04) to ko tan (P5) so here you have the full spelling and this is what we think it is; tok tan which means "cloud center."The other place that it shows up is in the name of Pakal's wife (Palace Tablet) where she is named a to ko tan winik (D17) or a tok tan person. This then is a toponym for a particular part of Palenque and since this toponym, except in Lady Sak Ahaw's name, we believe that it's the identification of the valley that has the Group of the Cross and all of the other buildings in it. This is where we believe the first king of Palenque lived and that is somewhere near Temple 18A. I believe that when the archaeologist go back into that area they are going to find a lot of other Early Classic tombs and perhaps even the Founder himself.

The name of this ruler consists of a quetzal bird head combined with a jaguar ear. In earlier publications, we had called him Balam-K'uk', but on the Tablet of the 96 Glyphs a ma suffix occurs as the final affix in the name. This indicates that the name encount in -am, and that it was K'uk'-Balam.

The chronology associated with K'uk'-Balam poses problems because the dn recorded does not fit between the two cr dates recorded, and because the lc position is not unequivocally recorded. In very early analyses, Floyd suggested that the dates should be placed immediately after the U-K'ix-Chan dates, but this was before the discovery of founder statements at Copan, Tikal, and elsewhere. The mini-conference group now agrees that this person was the founder of the royal house of Palenque, and that his dates should fall in historical time. Placing them in chronological order just before the dates of the next king, whose accession is tied to the end of the ninth bak'tun, is the solution we accept. This gives the following dates from passage b above:

[8.18. 0.13. 6] l. 2. 5.14	5 Kimi	14 K'ayab	•	March 31, 397	birth
[8.19.15. 3. 4]	l K'an	2 K'ayab		March 10, 431	accession

This solution assumes that the dn is in error and that the written calendar round dates are the correct ones. Other dates for the birth or the accession would result if we assume the dn is correct, and one of the cr dates is wrong.

That K'uk-Balam was the founder is also supported by the dedication of a house by Kan-Balam II on 3 Kaban 15 Mol. The text of the TS clearly states that this dedication took place at the Yemal-K'uk'-Te-Witz, "Descending-Quetzal-Tree-Mountain," the mountain David Stuart identified as the mountain behind the TFC. The tablet in that temple records the same dedication, but it also has a special text associated with Kan-Balam's accession

(text a). Kan-Balam's name is followed by *u helwa* ("he replaced it"), *u k'al* ("the closure of"), K'uk'-Balam, Toktan-Ahaw, *pibnah yotot* ("The underground building, the house of"), *u ch'ul* ("the soul of "), Kan-Balam. We suspect this may refer to the tomb of the founder that may be encased deep under the Temple of the Foliated Cross.

We also note that K'uk'-Balam's name does not occur with Palenque emblem glyph. Instead, in the Group of the Cross, he has another title that reads to-tan ahaw in one case, and ko-to-tan ahaw. The confusion in these two spellings and the nature of the title are clarified by two other passages which have the same glyph. The TS (text c) records that the accession of K'an-Hok'-Chitam "happened at Toktan." The Palace Tablet also records that Pakal's wife, Lady Tz'ak-Ahaw, was a Toktan winik. Both of the phrases suggest that the intended spelling was toktan, and their syntax matches those of locative phrases as identified by Stuart and Houston. We believe that toktan was the name of the valley in which the Group of the Cross lies. That it has an Early Classic component is confirmed by the presence of an early royal grave under Temple XVIII-A. Toktan means "cloud center" in Chol and that valley very often has morning fog hanging above its trees. If we are right, then the founder came from this area, as did the woman who became Pakal's wife.

BREAK 10:25-10:45 A.M.

#### "CASPER"

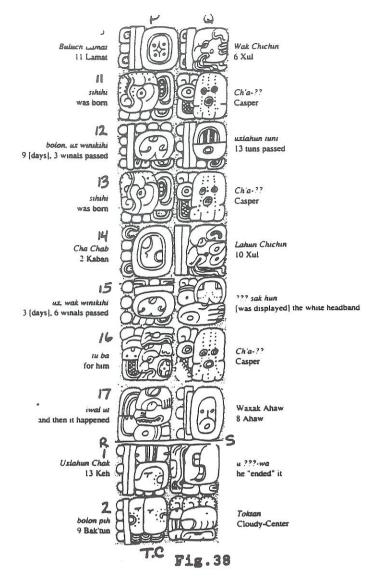
(Peter Mathews) It's my turn now and Linda has shown a couple of the middle passages on the Tablet of the Cross. We are still in the section of Palenque history chronologically where one we only have one tablet involved talking about these early individuals. We are about to pick up another one and that is the Tablet of the Inscriptions east panel, but for the moment we are still dealing with essentially one main piece of documentary evidence. The next ruler as Linda mentioned was considered by most of us at the First Mesa Redonda as to be rather impolite nickname, but the name has still stuck. Floyd simply called him Casper and here is a portrait of him (Fig.37).



Fig.37

He is one of the few kings that we still do not have a good reading for. Until we do, Casper will remain his name. We do however have a good clue as to the beginning of his name because it begins with a ch'a (Q11 of Fig.38).

Okay let's move on to the dates. We have the same kind of beginning expression that Linda has already gone through for the Founder and for K'ix-Chan. It starts out with a new passage immediately after this last one that Linda dealt with and breaks into another CR date of 11 Lamat (P10) 6 Xul (Q10) followed by was born (P11) Casper (Q11). We then have a DN of 9 k'ins, 3 winals (P12), and 13 tuns (Q12) since he was born (P13) Casper (Q13) and then we get a new CR of 2 Kaban (P14) 10 Xul (Q14). I'll go back over the dates in a minute, but that's the relationship in this first sentence. For one date we are told that that is the birthday of Casper and we then have a DN of 13.3.9 since Casper was born and then another date comes up. We then have a minor break because we have a DN which starts another passage. So they haven't said what happened on this second date when he is 13 years old, but they will now give you that information by saying that it was 3 k'ins and 6 winals (P15) since it was presented "sak hun" or offered (Q15) to him "tu ba" (P16) Casper (Q16) and then (P17) the day 8 Ahaw (Q17) 13 Keh (R1) the end of (S1) the 9th bak'tun (R2) followed by the toponym Tok Tan (To Ko Tan Na) (Q2). It is used as a locative, so it happened at this place. Now that's the overall structure of the main passages that deal with Casper in the Tablet of the Cross.



This is the chronology then for Casper. The first date (11 Lamat 6 Xul) has the LC of 8.19.6.8.8 and then we go forward 13 years to the date 2 Kaban 10 Xul and that in the LC is 8.19.19.11.17. So this first passage says " On 8.19.6.8.8 11 Lamat 6 Xul Casper was born and 13 years later was the date 8.19.19.11.17 2 Kaban 10 Xul and that's the end of that passage." We then get a passage that says "it was 3 days and 6 winals since he tied on the headband or the headband was offered to him until the date 8 Ahaw 13 Keh, which is the end of 9 bak'tuns." The end of the 9th bak'tun is another one of these anchor dates which locks it into 375,000 years before it will repeat again and this date is 9.0.0.0.0. If you subtract 8.19.19.11.17 from the 9.0.0.0.0 we get the DN of 6.3. to confirm this chronology. So we have a couplet expression where the 8.19.19.11.17 is recorded up above as the date, but what happened on that date is not specified. In the second half of the passage they say what happened on that date, but they don't repeat the date and they give the relationship between this date, which we can see as the accession date of Casper to the Period-Ending (PE) anchor Together then, we have him born on 9.19.6.8.8. We have him becomming king when he was 13 years old on 8.19.19.11.17 and then he celebrated the bak'tun-ending of 9.0.0.0.0 at the Tok Tan location in Palenque. So that is Casper in the official annals of the Tablet of the Cross at Palenque.

We do have other probable references to him (Fig.39). David Stuart, some years ago, was looking at an alabaster vase that has been studied for a long time and we had all noticed the presence of the Palenque EG on the accompanying text. The vase has a portrait on it with 4 glyphs associated with it. David pulled this back out to our memory and said that this has to be a lord from Palenque because this is the EG of Palenque. He looked more closely at the name in the beginning of the text and argued that this element here represented the main sign of the Casper name in Head Variant form. The other part of his argument was that this sign here has the same ch'a prefix that Casper names has in the Tablet of the Cross. Today, this is absolutely clear cut and this then is the portrait of Casper. So if you don't think that these are historical individuals you now have to explain not just that the Tablet of the Cross was made up, but you will also have to say they are starting to draw pictures of individuals in Early Classic style and they didn't exist either.



Fig. 39

The preceding sign is the ch'ok or "young sprout" title, so this is a portrait of Casper as a young man and he is the holy lord of Palenque.

There is another possible reference to Casper that Simon Martin showed us where at Yaxchilan this sign here is followed by phonetic ba and ku or bak which is what the EG of Palenque is writing in logographic fashion. Bak means "bone." This then is another good possibility that this a reference to Casper because this first sign

(the head) is identical to the one on the vase.

(Linda mentions here that there is a different explanation which can be used here as well. This name in the Yaxchilan texts follows a series of three other names that have right after it the word ch'ok. It seems that you have names of three young children or three young people. In the Cordemex, bak can also mean "young child." That can mean that the bak is here to refer as the Palenque EG, but it is an alternative to the ch'ok glyph that would just name him as 4th child being named in a series of children of the king of this particular Early Classic person. That could explain that the first sign in the Yaxchilan example is not ch'a and that is the main problem in identifying this person as Casper.)

"Casper (the Ghost)" is the humorous nickname we gave this king twenty years ago. Unfortunately, not much progress has occurred in the decipherment of his name. The prefix is phonetic ch'a, but we still do not know how to read the second sign. "Casper" will do until we have a decipherment.

With this king we tie the dynastic sequence into the long count. The chronology is as follows:

8.18. 6. 8. 8 13. 3. 9	11 Lamat	6 Xul	August 9, 422	birth
8.19.19.11.17	2 Kaban	10 Xul	August 10, 435	accession
9. 0. 0. 0. 0	8 Ahaw	13 Keh	December 11, 435	bak'tun ending

The period ending that locks this chronology down occurred at Toktan so that this king, like the founder, is associated with this place.

David Stuart, on the one hand, and Nikolai Grube and Werner Nahm, on the other have found evidence suggesting that "Casper" has left evidence of his existence in the archaeological record. When he was fellow at Dumbarton Oaks, David identified "Casper" on an alabaster vase. One side of the vase shows a bearded man seated in cross-legged position. The other side has a three glyph text naming the man. It has ch'ok ("sprout") followed by the name in its head variant form and the Palenque

emblem glyph.

In November, 1992, Werner Nahm and Nikolai Grube pointed out another possible occurrence of his name on an Early Classic lintel at Yaxchilan. The identification is tentative because the prefix is not the same, but as



they said, the name is followed by ba-ka, the phonetic spelling of Palenque's name.

#### SAK-CHIK

The next passage on the Tablet of the Cross concerns a new king. It's a case where only the names have been changed to protect the innocent and the formulaic expression of the relationship between birth and accession is essentially the same and we will start seeing this pattern repeat in the Tablet of the Cross expressions. This passage begins with a DN (Fig. 40) of 18 k'ins, 1 winal (R3), 8 tuns (S3), and 1 k'atun have passed (R4) since he was born (S4) followed by his name at R5 S5, and then was offered, the white headband (R6) for him (S6) on the day 3 Etz'nab (R7) 11 Xul (S7).

There's enough information once you recognize the basic pattern to be able to work out what is going on for the birth date, the accession date, and so on. You can see here that we have a slight variation of the theme because we have the interval of time between the birth and then tying on of the headband. That interval was 28 years between the birth and his accession. We then get the ruler named and we get one of the two dates named. Now logically this second date will be the accession date and the birth date is just implied by the DN.

The chronological relationship is that the 3 Etz'nab 11 Xul is in the LC 9.2.12.6.18. The interval between the accession and the birth is 1.8.1.18 and that means if you subtract that DN from the later date you will get the earlier birth date that was implied or 9.1.4.5.0 12 Ahaw 13 Sak in the CR.

waxak tuni T.C. waxaklahun, hun winikihi 8 tuns passed 18 [days], 1 winal passed sihihi hun k'atum was born l k'atun 5 Sak Chik Butz'ih White-Coati **Smoking** tu ba iwal ??? sak hun for him and then ]was presented] the white headband 7 **Buluch Chichin** Ux Tihax? 11 Xul 3 Etz'nab Fig. 40

This is the only reference we have to this ruler at Palenque. His name is still not completely deciphered, but we have at least part of it. The first sign in R5 is a bu and the main question is to the second half of the first glyph. The second glyph at S5 reads sak chi ku or Sak Chik. We have looked into the possibility that the first glyph in his name may read t'za and if you put that together with the bu you will get the word for "smoke" butz', but it is just not clear. If his name reads Sak Chiku then it means "white coatimundi."

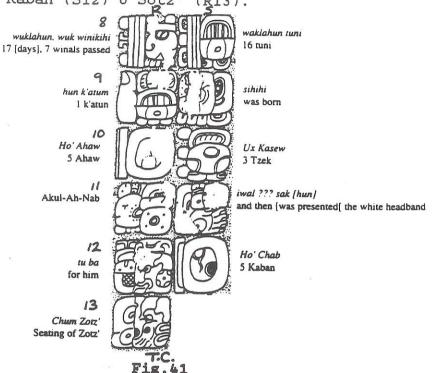
That then, is all we have for this person. We have his birth and his accession saying that he was 28 years old when he became king. (Linda) The reason why we are very sure about his LC position is because the king just before him is anchored to the end of 9.0.0.0.0 and we are about to find out the king after him is anchored to 9.4.0.0.0 so there's not very much time for him to fit into. These are the only LC positions for those two CR's that fit within those two anchor dates. (Peter) Here we don't have any anchors tying it into the 375,000 years. All we have is the 52 years cycle. But it is hedged in on both sides by the preceding king's dates that are very clearly tied in and a following king's dates that are also very well tied in, so there is no way to shift this either 52 years earlier or later because then you are in the middle of the preceding or the following king's reign.

This king's name is spelled phonetically as Bu-??-ha Sak-Chik. We don't know what the first word is, but the second is White-Coatimundi, a animal related to the raccoon. He only occurs in one passage at Palenque, but since there were only five years between his birth and that of Akul-Ah Nab I, we assume that they were brothers. The chronology for Sak-Chik is as follows:

9. 1. 4. 5. 0 12 Ahaw 13 Sak November 15, 459 birth
1. 8. 1.18
9. 2.12. 6.18 3 Etz'nab 11 Xul July 29, 487 accession

#### AKUL-AH NAB I

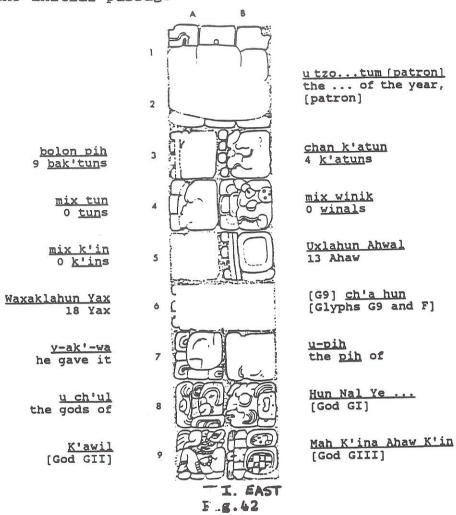
Okay, we are now into a section where we have a lot more information from other monuments at Palenque on the various rulers. So the next ruler that we will look at Akul-Ah Nab I has several references to him at Palenque. We will begin again with the Tablet of the Cross (Fig.41). This passage begins with a DN of 17 k'ins, 7 winals (R8), 16 tuns (S8), and 1 k'atun had passed (R9) since he was born (S9) on the day 5 Ahaw (R10) 3 Tz'ek (S10) followed by the name of this king at R11 and then it was offered the headband (S11) for him (R12) on the day 5 Kaban (S12) 0 Sotz' (R13).



So we have two dates recorded. We have an interval between them. We have two events recorded and we have a name. This then, is all the information we need in order to reconstruct the basics. The two events that are recorded are his birth and his accession. The chronology then for the first date is the following. The 5 Ahaw 3 Tz'ek date happens to be an important PE day as well, however it is not being used in that context here. That date is 9.1.10.0.0 5 Ahaw 3 Tz'ek. We then get a DN of 1.16.7.17 and if you add that on to the earlier birth date you will arrive at the accession date of 9.3.6.7.17 5 Kaban 0 Sotz'. So we have confirmation of the mathematical structure linking these two dates. We have the birth date on 9.1.10.0.0 with an interval of about 36 years until his accession on 9.3.6.6.17. His name is recorded at R11 and I'll come back to that shortly.

I now want to switch to the second tablet that talks about him. This was worked out by Floyd and Linda in the mid 1970's when for the first time these two tablets were tied back together again where the relationship was worked out that absolutely ties these dates together. We are now at the first tablet or the East Panel of the Tablet of the Inscriptions (Fig. 42). Very often these lengthy tablets will start out with a IS date where they give you the real time in the Maya calendar by saying exactly how many days have passed. The text begins with the LC date of 9 (A3). 4 (B3). 0 (A4). 0 (B4). 0 (A5) and it can be confirmed because the day that would be expected in the 260 day

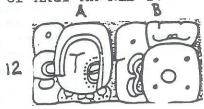
calendar is 13 Ahaw (B5) and you can at least see the 13 in this glyph block. The date 9.4.0.0.0 recorded as the IS date is 13 Ahaw 18 Yax (A6). The passage here in fact doesn't talk about a historical individual. It is talking about offerings or ceremonies involving the patron gods of Palenque or he offered it (A7 B7) of then gods (A8) followed by the names of the Palenque Triad from B8-B9. That then is the end of the initial passage.



We then get the second passage starting off with a DN of 3 k'ins, 10 winals (A10), and 13 tuns (B10) since he was seated (A11) with the headband (B11) followed by his name (A12 B12) and EG (C1). So what is the chronological relationship between these two? We have an IS date and we have a interval of time of about 13 years and we have no other date specifically recorded, so how do you link those two together? clue is in the way the verb is written. It is since the seating occurred and that implies that you have an earlier date involved and if we want to be absolutely basic and cautious about it you could say that this first DN could either be added or subtracted from the 9.4.0.0.0 date. I could do both of those operations, but I think that just one of them will suffice to show you that there is just one correct solution. If you subtract 13.10.3 from 9.4.0.0.0 you will arrive at 9.3.6.7.17. This date is exactly the same date that we had recorded This date is exactly the same date that we had recorded at S12 R13 on the Tablet of the Cross. This clearly then is the same To review the chronology then, he was born on 9.1.10.0.0. becomes king on 9.3.6.7.17. (recorded on both passages).

His name is written in somewhat different forms over the various texts where this ruler and his various namesakes are recorded. The

reading of his name from the Tablet of the Cross reads (Fig. 43) a ku la a na bi or Akul-Ah Nab I.



T.I. EAST

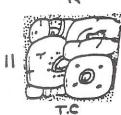


Fig. 43

We also have another passage here (Fig.44) from the sarcophagus lid edge that records this individual. This very simple statement says that on 5 Kaban 5 Mak (16) och bih "he entered the road" Akul-Ah Nab (17). This then, is his death date 9.4.10.4.17 5 Kaban 5 Mak. So he acceded on 9.3.6.7.17 and roughly 24 years later he died. Remember he was born on 9.1.10.0.0 so he was about 59 when he died.



Ho? Chab / Ho? Mak 5 Kaban / 5 Mak

och Bih / Akul-Ah Nab he entered the Road / Akul-Ah Nab I

Fig. 44

Here is the chronology then for Akul-Ah Nab I (Fig. 45). His age at accession was almost 36 years old. He ruled for about 23 years and he died when he was about 59 1/2 years of age. So here, we have the basic biographical sketch for this ruler only by pasting together the references to him from each of these three tablets.

## Akul-Ah Nab I

birth accession period-ending death	9. 1.10. 0. 0 9. 3. 6. 7.17 9. 4. 0. 0. 0 9. 4.10. 4.17	5 Abau 5 Kaban 13 Abau 5 Kaban	3 Sek 0 Sots' 18 Yax 5 Mak	TC, TI1, TC TI1 Sare
other references				
age at accession length of reign age at death	1. 3.15. 0	(35 Years, (23 Years,	179 days)	

	.10.0.0	5 Ahaw	3 Tz'ek	July 6, 487
9.3		5 Kaban	0 Sotz'	June 5, 523
	13.10.3	13 Abaw	18 Yax	Oct. 18, 514

The death date on the sarcophagus also fits into the pattern, setting his death at:

9.4.10.4.17 5 Kaban 5 Mak Dec. 1, 524

On the sides of the sarcophagus, in the tomb within the Temple of the Inscriptions at Palenque, we have a portrait of Akul-Ah Nab I (Fig.46). This was one of the first historical proofs to be sorted out because in 1959 Heinrich Berlin recognized these figures as human and argued that there were historical personages. He also mentioned that if we could read the associated glyphs with each figure we would have the names of each individual. So here is another reference to Akul Ah Nab I here followed by the Palenque EG below. In fact, his name is even recorded in the headdress that is shown on this portrait.



Fig. 46

In our original study of Palenque, we used the reading Chaacal for this name. In the intervening years, it has become clear that the signs in this name are phonetic and that it should be read Akul-Ah Nab, although we are not sure what the name means. The accession of this king is recorded in the opening sequence of the east panel of the Temple of Inscriptions connected with the long count date

9.4.0.0.0. This association locks his birth and accession unequivocally into place, because on the TC the same accession date is connected by distance number to his birth. The chronology is as follows:

9. 1.10. 0. 0	5 Ahaw	3 Tz'ek	July 6, 487	birth
<u>1.16. 7.17</u> 9. 3. 6. 7.17	5 Kaban	0 Sotz'	June 5, 523	accession
13.10. 3	13 Ahaw	18 Yax	Oct. 18, 514	

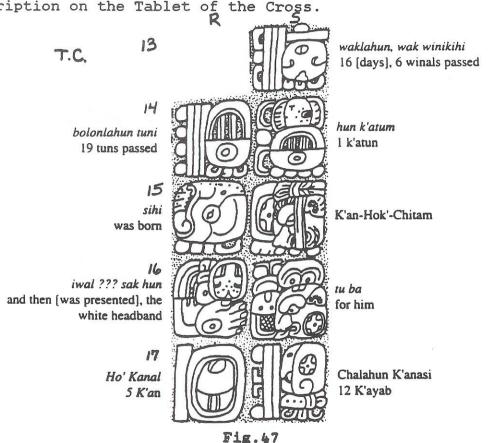
The death date on the sarcophagus also fits into the pattern, setting his death at:

9. 4.10. 4.17 5 Kaban 5 Mak Dec. 1, 524

This made him 35 years old at his accession, and 59 at his death with a reign of 23 years.

We will begin with this ruler's reference on the Tablet of the Cross (Fig.47). This passage begins with DN of 16 k'ins, 6 winals (S13), 19 tuns (R14), and 1 k'atun (S14) had passed since he was born (R15) K'an-Hok'-Chitam (S15) and then it was offered, the headband (R16) for him (S16) on the day 5 K'an (R17) 12 K'ayab (S17).

This passage only records one date and gives you the interval of time between the two dates (DN and the 5 K'an 12 K'ayab) which can be worked out arithmatically. You must first begin with working out what the LC position of this date recorded at the end of the passage is and it is 9.4.14.10.4. This then is the accession date. If you now subtract the DN to get back to the other event or the birth date you get 9.2.15.3.8 12 Lamat 6 Wo. That is the basic structure then for the inscription on the Tablet of the Cross.



Now if we move over to the Tablet of the Inscription (Fig.48) we begin with a DN of 16 k'ins, 7 winals (D1), 5 tuns (C2) and the date that is recorded in this passage, since it's constructed in a different manner, is 11 Ahaw (D5) 18 Sek (C6) and it ends by giving you an anchor reference (D6). That reference states that it was the end of the 5th k'atun and it most certainly refers to the LC date of 9.5.0.0.0. This then is another one of those dates that's fixed in time and can not be repeated for 375,000 years. If you then subtract the DN of 5.7.16 from 9.5.0.0.0 you will arrive at 9.4.14.10.4 and that is the date that we just reconstructed on the Tablet of the Cross. So the accession date that we have referred to here is 9.4.14.10.4 and it is only given by the interval before the PE that this ruler celebrated. In other words, he became king and about 5 1/2 years later he celebrated various PE ceremonies on this date. From that we can reconstruct this glyph here at D2 as the "Seating Glyph" followed by

the glyph for the headband at C3, followed by the his name at D3 and the Palenque EG at C4.

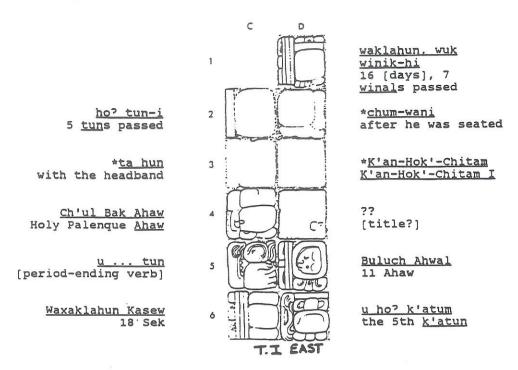


Fig. 48

His name is read K'an with a na phonetic compliment. The knot is read hok' and the animal is a peccary which is read chitam with a ma phonetic compliment.

You can see his name as well in the headdress that he wears on the side of the sarcophagus (Fig.49). Here's the peccary with the k'an cross in his eye.



Fig. 49

I hope that you can see that we have all of the biographical information about the key events in the lives and reigns of these rulers. You may remember that the preceding ruler (Akul-Ah Nab I) we calculated died on 9.4.10.4.17. We've also calculated the following ruler (K'an-Hok'-Chitam I), who has the next passage in each of the

little bit later than the death date of the preceding ruler. In fact, it is just about 4 1/4 years. This was a very long interregnum by Palenque standards. Most of them were less than a year.

We have K'an-Hok'-Chitam's death recorded on the edge of the sarcophagus (Fig.50). The day was 7 Kib 4 K'ayab (18) or 9.6.11.0.6 he entered the road K'an-Hok'-Chitam I (19). So he ruled for almost 36 years and he lived to a ripe old age of 74.





Wuk Chabin / och Bih
Chan K'anasi K'an-Hol
K'ayab K'an-Hol

och Bih /
K'an-Hok'-Chitam
he entered the Road /
K'an-Hok'-Chitam I

Fig.50

Here's the chronology (Fig.51).

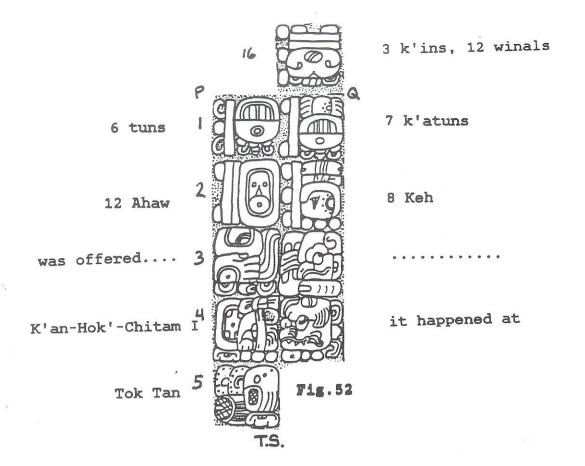
## K'an-Hok'-Chitam I

birth	9. 2.15. 3. 8	12 Lamat 6	Ho TC
77	9. 3. 1.15. 0	12 Ahaw 8	Keh TS
accession	9. 4.14.10. 4	5 K'an 12	K'ayab TI1, TC
period-ending	9. 5. 0. 0. 0	11 Ahaw 18	Sek TI1
period-ending	9. 5.17. 0. 0	8 Ahaw 13	Pohp TI1
??	9. 5.17.17. 3	13 Ak'bal 16	Kumk'u TI1
period-ending	9. 6. 0. 0. 0	9 Ahaw 3	wayeb TI1
death	9. 6.11. 0.16	7 Kib 4	K'ayab Sarc
other references	portrayed on S	arcophagus (West	side, Figure 3)
age at accession	1.19. 6.16	(38 years, 297	days)
length of reign	1.16. 8.12	(35 years, 348	
age at death	3.15.15. 8	(74 years, 280	

9. 2.15. 3. 8	12 Lamat	6 Wo	May 4, 490	birth
1.19. 6.16				
9.4.14.10.4	5 K'an	12 K'ayab	Feb. 25, 529	access.
9.6.11.5.1	7 Kib	4 K'ayab	Feb. 8, 565	death

#### Fig.51

We have one other reference to K'an-Hok'-Chitam from the Tablet of the Sun (Fig.52). The passage begins with a DN of 3 k'ins, 12 winals (O16), 6 tuns (P1), and 7 k'atuns have passed (Q1) and then came the day 12 Ahaw (P2) 8 Keh (Q2). We then get the verb that Linda first identified as an event occurring usually early in lives of individual rulers before they became king. It had the same basic form of the accession glyphs that we were starting to identify at the time including talking about the title into which they entered. We still can't read this particular title, but the top sign is a mirror and the sign below is the same flat hand that indicates that something was offered or put on, perhaps referring to a piece of clothing. The main point here is that on this date this happened to K'an-Hok'-Chitam I who is named here at P4. The text then gives us a bit more information and states that "it happened at" (Q4) Toktan (P5). The LC position for this date is 9.3.1.15.0 and that is, if you compare this date to his birth date, when he is just 6 years old and so this passage acknowledges that he was destined to become the next king of Palenque.



This king has had several names, especially Hok' and K'an-Xul, with the later put in use by Schele when she lost confidence in the hok' we originally applied to the bundle-knot glyph after Cordon's original decipherment. Subsequent work has shown his original decipherment and our original name to have been correct. In addition, the animal represented has a blunt-snouted nose. We thought long ago that it might be a peccary, but we had no proof. Then Nikolai Grube showed that the three balls under the animal head has the value ma in other contexts. This was the clue we needed-the only blunt-snouted animal whose name end in am is chitam, "peccary." This king was K'an-Hok'-Chitam, "Precious (or Yellow)-Hanging (or Leaving)-Peccary."

K'an-Hok'-Chitam's accession is associated with the end of the fifth k'atun, thus locking it into the long count. Again the same accession date is recorded in the TC associated with his birth, and the sarcophagus records his death date. The chronology is as follows:

9. 2.15. 3. 8	12 Lamat	6 Wo	May 4, 490 birth
1.19.6.16			
9. 4.14.10. 4	5 K'an	12 K'ayab	Feb. 25, 529 access.
9. 6.11. 5. 1	7 Kib	4 K'ayab	Feb. 8, 565 death

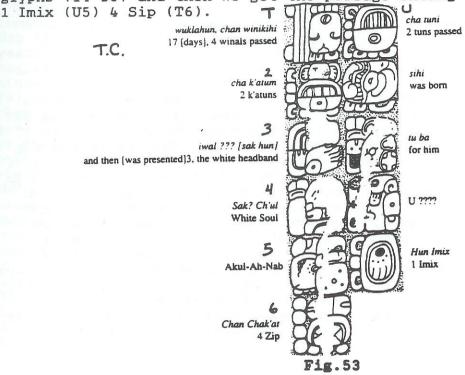
K'an-Hok'-Chitam was 38 years old when he acceded and 74 when he died. He reigned for 35 years, 348 days.

We also have his designation as heir at age 6. The date was 9.3.1.15.0 12 Ahaw 8 Keh (Nov. 20, 496) and the place was Toktan, the location especially associated with the founder K'uk-Balam. K'an-Hok'-Chitam must have been a very important king in the Early classic period, if only because of the length of time he reigned. He oversaw the end of the 5th and 6th k'atuns.

LUNCH BREAK 12:00-2:00 P.M.

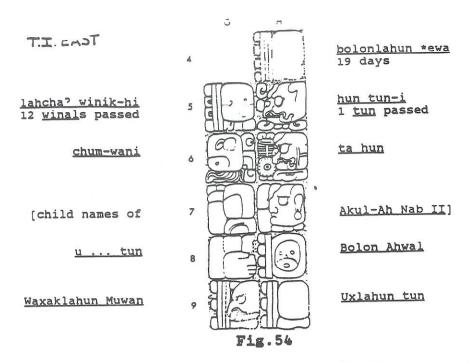
Again, this ruler appears on the Tablet of the Cross, on the first panel of the Tablet of the Inscriptions, and on the sarcophagus lid. The Tablet of the Cross repeats the formula of tying his birth date to his accession date. The Tablet of the Inscriptions ties his accession date to a PE date and the sarcophagus lid text justs talks about his death date.

We will start with the passage from the Tablet of the Cross (Fig.53). The passage begins with a DN of 17 k'ins, 4 winals (T1), 2 tuns (U1), 2 k'atuns have passed (T2) since he was born (U2) and then the headband was offered or tied on (T3) for him (U3) (in other words, he became king) and then we have his name recorded in three different glyphs (T4-T5) and then we get the passage ending with a CR date of



That date in the LC is 9.6.11.5.1 and that is the accession date. So his birth date is this DN earlier or 2.2.4.17 and if you subtract that from the accession date you will arrive at 9.4.9.0.4 7 K'an 17 Mol which is not recorded, but implied.

Now when we look at the Tablet of the Inscription text (Fig.54) we see that it ties this same accession date, not to the birth, but to a later PE date when the king was at the height of his power and presiding over certain ceremonies at the site. So the word order and the arrangement of the text in this panel begins with a DN of 19 k'ins (H4), 12 winals (G5), and 1 tun (H5) since he was seated (G6) with the headband (H6) followed by the name of the king (G7 H7) on the PE (G8) date of 9 Ahaw (H8) 18 Muwan (G9) the end of 13 tuns (H9). This tells us that this last date is presumably 9.6.13.0.0 and if you then subtract the DN of 1.12.19 you will arrive at the day 9.6.11.5.1. That date we have just seen from the Tablet of the Cross.



Now all we have to deal with is this ruler's name and his death date. His death date is recorded on the sarcophagus lid edge (Fig.55) and it's given as 9 Manik 5 Yaxk'in (20) which in the LC is 9.6.16.10.7 and so he, in fact, ruled for only about 6 years. That is reason why the PE that is recorded with him is not the following k'atun ending of 9.7.0.0.0, but rather 9.6.13.0.0 because he didn't live long enough to see the next k'atun ending. The verb in this death passage is again read och bih or "he entered the road" as the metaphor for death and his name is recorded in exactly the same form as the name two kings previous in this same sarcophagus lid text. In other words, he is another ruler with the same name that we have seen before which was Akul-Ah Nab or Akul-Ah Nab II. (Nikolai Grube interjects here and says the following: "Ah Nab, in Tzotzil is translated as "artisan, painter, or stone-cutter. You wil very often find it possessed on scribe's names on monuments. Vicky Bricker also says that akul can be taken as "sitting or seated." So this could means "seated scribe or seated artisan."

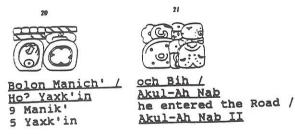


Fig.55

His name is recorded on the Tablet of the Cross in three glyphs and two of those same glyphs are also recorded for his name on the Tablet of the Inscriptions panel, but in that panel we do not get the Akul-Ah Nab recorded at all. Apparently he had more than one name and in fact that is a very common pattern. We are not absolutely sure how to read all of these other names.

Here then is the chronology for Akul-Ah Nab II (Fig.56). Akul-Ah Nab II was about 46 years old when he died having only reigned for about 5 1/2 years.

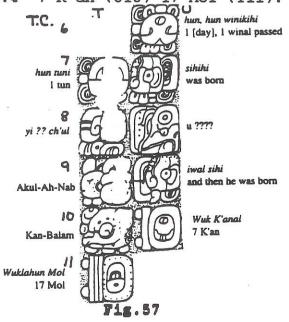
birth accession period-ending death	9. 4. 9. 0. 4 9. 6.11. 5. 1 9. 6.13. 0. 0 9. 6.16.10. 7	9 Ahaw 18 Muwan	TC TI1, TC TI1
age at accession length of reign age at death	2. 2. 4.17 5. 5. 6 2. 7.10. 3	(41 years, 242 days) (5 years, 80 days) (46 years, 322 days)	34.0

9. 4. 9. 0. 4 2. 2. 4.17 9. 6.11. 5. 1	17 Mol	Sep. 5, 523	birth
	4 Sip	May 4, 565	accession

9. 6.16.10.7 9 Manik 5 Yaxk'in death

#### Fig.56

Then the following passage on the Tablet of the Cross (Fig. 57) immediately after talking about the birth and the accession of Akul-Ah Nab II goes on with a short DN. Now before we have seen them to be 25 years, 42 years, and so on, but this one is rather different. begins with a DN of 1 k'in, 1 winal (U6), and 1 tun have passed (T7) since he was born (U7) followed by three names for Akul-Ah Nab II (T8-T9). So it was just after 1 year since the birth of Akul-Ah Nab II and then it happened, but instead of getting an accession, which is what we have come to expect being recorded in the second half of this passage, we get another birth glyph (U9). This means that something else is going on. It was 1 year between the birth of Akul-Ah Nab II and the birth of yet another person because there is a different name glyph there (T10). This name glyph combines the features of a jaguar and a snake. He is called Kan-Balam I or "Snake Jaguar." Then this passage ends with a CR date. So here we are not dealing with a straight forward adding or subtracting of the DN since the birth until the accession of one ruler, rather we are linking two birth dates together. If you have two people born just over 1 year apart what's going to be happening? They are brothers. So the birth of one brother, the preceding ruler, is being linked to the birth of the following ruler. The interesting thing here is that this lasst date recorded here we might expect to be the second of the two birth dates, but in fact, it's the birth date of the older brother (Akul-Ah Nab II). The LC position for this CR is 9.4.9.0.4 7 K'an (U10) 17 Mol (T11).



The 1.1.1. DN goes from 9.4.9.0.4 to 9.4.10.1.5, which is the birth date of Kan-Balam.

This king is the second one named Akul-Ah Nab and, we believe, the grandson of the first ruler by that name. His birth and accession are given on the Tablet of the Cross, and the same date of accession occurs on the east panel of the Temple of Inscriptions, where it is tied to 9.6.13.0.0. His chronology is as follows:

9. 4. 9. 0. 4 7 K'an 17 Mol Sep. 5, 523 birth
2. 2. 4.17
9. 6.11. 5. 1 1 Imix 4 Sip May 4, 565 accession

9. 6.16.10.7 9 Manik 5 Yaxk'in death

This gave him an age of 41 years at his accession and 46 at his death. He had a short reign of only five years. The shortness of his reign gave Kan-Balam I his chance at the throne. A passage on the TC links the births of Akul-Ah Nab and Kan-Balam, while emphasizing that they were born only 1.1.1 apart. We take this emphasis as evidence that they were brothers. If so, then the older brother ruled first and was succeeded by his younger brother. Akul was not portrayed on the sarcophagus sides because, we think, he did not produce the heir in the next generation.

#### KAN-BALAM I

We will now get back to the more standard form of recording where we have the birth date of Kan-Balam I linked to his accession date. In the next passage on the Tablet of the Cross (Fig.58) we have a DN that states that 7 k'ins, 4 winals (U11), 8 tuns (T12), and 2 ka'tuns have passed (U12) since he was born (T13) Kan-Balam (U13) on the day 11 Chicchan (T14) 13 Ch'en (U14). The 11 Chicchan 13 Ch'en is this second birth date that is implied on the preceding passage. So from this we have his birth date, the statment of his birth, and a DN, but the DN isn't actually linked to anything in this passage.

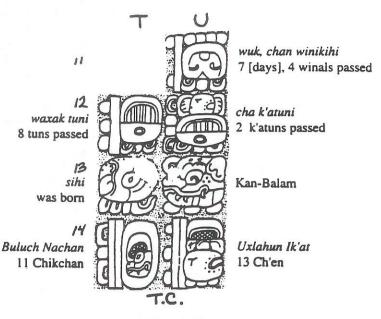
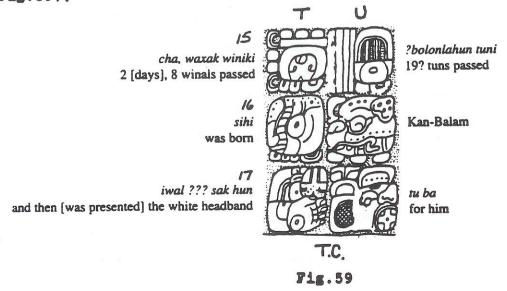


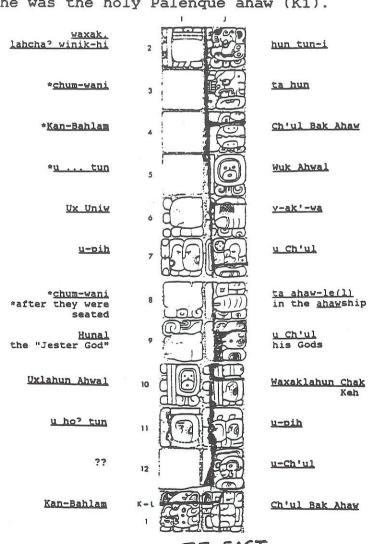
Fig.58

Now from what we have already seen, we would expect it tie his birth date to his accession, but there is a problem with that. The problem is that in the following passage we get another DN of 2 k'ins, 8 winals, (T15), and 18 or 19 tuns (U15) since he was born (T16) Kan-Balam (U16) and then the headband was offered (T17) for him (U17) (Fig.59).



This is the end of the main text of the Tablet of the Cross and we are sort of left hanging as to what exactly is going on. The solution that we've accepted is that this is the correct DN and then we can work out the accession date by adding this DN onto the birth date. That reduces these last six glyphs as being unexplainable.

On the Tablet of the Inscriptions (Fig. 60) we get a DN and remember we are now going to expect the accession date linked to a PE date. The DN here is 8 k'ins, 12 winals (I2), and 1 tuns (J2), we can reconstruct in here as the seating glyph or since he was seated (I3) in the office of lord (J3) followed by what would have been his name glyph at I4 and he was a holy Palenque lord (J4). Then we have the day 7 Ahaw (J5) 3 K'ank'in (I6) which is indirectly an indication that is a k'atun-ending date of 9.7.0.0.0. So if we subtract the DN of 1.12.8 from the k'atun-ending date of 9.7.0.0.0 we will get 9.6.18.5.12 and that is the solution on the last two problematic passages on the Tablet of the Cross as well. In other words, we have his birth on 9.4.10.1.5 and we have his accession date about 42 years later on 9.6.18.5.12. also mentions offerrings to the gods here at J6-J7 on the k'atun-ending date. He celebrates another PE date here (I10 J10) which is 5 years after the k'atun-ending date at 9.7.5.0.0. He is named here at J1 with a ka phonetic compliment in the front of his head and it has a na compliment in its mouth for the name Kan-Balam. The passage ends by stating that he was the holy Palenque ahaw (K1).



T.I EAST

F1g. 60

The sarcophagus lid text (Fig. 61) has Kan-Balam mentioned twice in One of them is here at #24 and the other is there at #26. In both it. of the glyphs you can see the kind of belly-scales of the snake being marked with vertical lines. We also have the eye of the snake in both cases, but the rest of the head is a jaguar. So this is a good example of the fusing of the two elements; the snake and the jaguar in each on these heads. The first passage starts off with a CR of 7 Ahaw (#22) 3 K'ank'in (#23) and we have already seen that recorded on the Tablet of the Inscriptions. The verb here literally reads u chum tun or "his seating of the tun" (a PE date) Kan-Balam (24). This passage recorded on the sarcophagus lid text is really the first anchor we get in the entire inscription around the edge of the sarcophagus lid to anchor it into a real elapsed time. We then get another CR date recorded at 11 Chicchan 4 K'ayab (#25) and on that date he entered the road, Kan-Balam (#26) the holy lord of Palenque (#27). Here then, we have his death date recorded in a more normal fashion.



<u>Wuk Ahwal Ux Uniw</u>

7 Ahaw 3 K'ank'in



u chum-tun /
Kan-Bahlam
his tun-seating /
Kan-Bahlam I



Buluch Chakchan / \*Ux K'anasi 11 Chikchan / \*3 K'ayab



och Bih /
Kan-Bahlam
he entered
the Road /
Kan-Bahlam



Ch'ul Bak Ahaw Holy Palenque Ahaw

## Fig. 61

There is only one slight problem with that date. It should have been written as 3 K'ayab, not 4 K'ayab. This is a mistake that the scribe made. I feel that because there is a 4 K'ayab earlier in the text, and they probably still had that on their mind when he carverd this.

Here's the chronology then for Kan-Balam (Fig.62). He was born on 9.4.10.1.5 which is just a year after his older brother was born, who was the preceding king as well. His older brother died at 9.6.16.10.7 and about 1 1/2 years after that death Kan-Balam I acceded on 9.6.18.5.12 and then he continued to rule for about 10 years. He finally died on 9.7.9.5.5 11 Chicchan 3 K'ayab.

#### Kan-Bahlam I

birth 9. 4.10. 1. 5 11 Chikchan 13 Ch'en TC accession 9. 6.18. 5.12 10 Eb 0 Wo TI1, TC period-ending 9. 7. 0. 0. 0 7 Ahaw 3 K'ank'in TI1, Sarc period-ending 9. 7. 5. 0. 0 13 Ahaw 18 Keh TI1 death 9. 7. 9. 5. 5 11 Chikchan 3 Kayab Sarc

other references portrayed on Sarcophagus (East Side, Figure 2)

age at accession | 2.8.4.7 (47 years, 200 days) | 10.17.13 (10 years, 101 days) | age at death | 2.19.4.0 (58 years, 136 days)

9. 4.10. 1. 5 11 Chicchan 13 Ch'en Sep. 20, 524 birth

28. 4.7

9. 6.18. 5.12 10 Eb 0 Wo Apr. 8, 572 accession

9. 7. 9. 5. 5 11 Chicchan 3 K'ayab Feb. 3, 583 death

Fig. 62

Here then, is a portrait of Kan-Balam with his name glyphs next to him and then finally he is the ch'ul bak ahaw. He is also wearing his name glyph in his headdress (Fig.63).

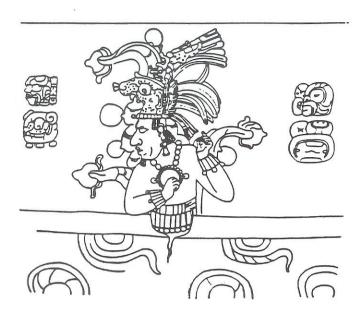


Fig. 63

In earlier publications, we called this king Chan-Bahlum, the modern Ch'ol version of his name. However, one version of it on the TI east panel and another of his later namesake spell the word for "snake" as ka-n(a). And as Terry Kaufman has reminded us, the Classic-period word for jaguar was bahlam or balam. For this workbook, we have adjusted his name accordingly. His birth and accession are recorded in the last passages of the Temple of the Cross, although there the date of the accession is not clear. On the TI east, however, the accession is tied to the period ending 9.7.0.0.0 and 9.7.5.0.0. The same k'atun ending appears on the sarcophagus edge and one of the two anchoring date, and like the tablet above, Kan-Balam is named as the person who ended it. His full chronology is as follows:

9. 4.10. 1. 5 <b>2.8.4.7</b>	11 Chicchan	13 Ch'en	Sep. 20, 524	birth
9. 6.18. 5.12	10 Eb	0 Wo	Apr. 8, 572	accession
9. 7. 9. 5. 5	11 Chicchan	3 K'ayab	Feb. 3, 583	death

He acceded at age 47 and died at 58. His reign was 10 years and 301 days.

(Linda Schele) We are going to switch to a woman named in these passages. Here are her portraits (Fig.64).





Fig. 64

She does not appear in the Tablet of the Cross because the history of the Tablet of the Cross stops with Kan-Balam I. Her name has been a problem for a very long time. We called her Lady K'an, at the beginning and later Lady Ik' and Lady K'an Ik'. Over the last several years clues that we need have showed up in order to get, I think, her correct spelling of her name (Fig.65).

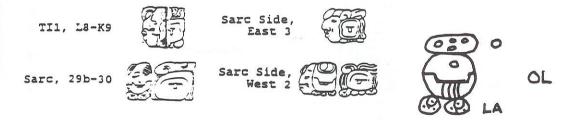


Fig. 65

The sign that stands for the Day Sign K'an outside of the Day Sign Cartouche has been shown to have two values. One is wa. This is one that shows up especially in the codices where this particular glyph stands for "bread." However, this glyph shows up being the Month Sign for Kumk'u in Yukatek, but in Chol was Ol. Several years ago we wrote a note that tried to show in the Classic Period this month was pronounced o wa la. What we really dind't think and understand at the time was that in the Chol Month Glyph, this month is entered as either Ohl or Ol. Nikolai Grube wrote us a letter after we wrote this note and he said that he felt that this top sign, read phonetically as o and the la at the bottom simply spelled Ol, which is not only the name of the month, but also the word for "in the heart of" and it's also the name for the porthole to go into the Otherworld. If you trace this back in the glyphic system, Ol is most likely value for this in almost all cases. It almost always has a la suffix and an o prefix. If you

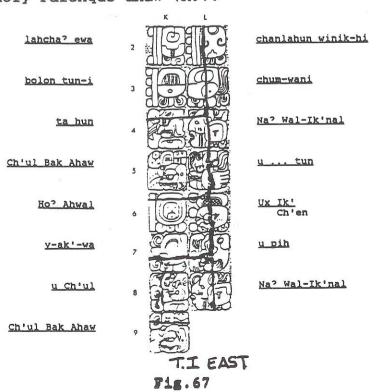
then look at her names you can see the bottom part of the K'an glyph right here with the la (#29). We think then that her name is read a Na Ol or Lady Heart or Lady Porthole. Then her last part of her name has an Ik' sign with the vegetation that is either over the top of the sign and a la sign under it or there's vegetation over the top of it and these little corn silks following down on the sides of the sign. That vegetation with the la is clearly nal, but we have found in the death glyph now (Fig.66) a sak sign with a the nik sign for "flower" and the Ik' sign like this we have found in straight substitution where it just is replaced by phonetic nal. We now have a lot of evidence that the Ik' sign outside of the cartouche is just read nal.



Fig.66

Her name then is Lady Ol-Nal and so the nal, which is usually a place location, just refers to her name as being Lady Porthole. She is also a lady of Palenque in her name phrases as well.

To get her chronology, I'm going to start with the PE on the Tablet of the Inscriptions (Fig.67). Here is "she set the tun" (L5). This PE on 5 Ahaw (K6) 3 Ch'en (L6) is 9.8.0.0.0. This passage begins with a DN of 12 k'ins (K2), 14 winals (L2), and 9 tuns (K3). So we need to subtract 9.14.12 away from the PE and we will arrive at 9.7.10.3.8 as the date of her accession. Here in the text we have yak'wa "she gave it" (K7), the pih of the gods (L7), u ch'ul (K8) Na Ol-Nal (L8) the holy Palenque ahaw (K9).



We have some historical events that occur during her lifetime. Now nowhere is she recorded as the agent of these things, but they occur during her reign and so whomever did them she should have overseen them (Fig.68). They involve Site Q, perhaps Calakmul, that was such a terror to Tikal during the Classic Period. There is a history, in terror to Tikal during the Classic Period. There is a history, in which Peter and I played virtually no role, in the recognition as to what is going on. The first hint came when Simon Martin was here on his first participation to the Long Workshop when he worked on the inscriptions on the Hieroglyphic Stairs in House C. He suggested that this name, which was long known as a Site Q name (here's the snake and the ka sign in front of the snake that identifies the EG of Site Q) was very similar to one of a Site Q lord. Here's the ka and the snake. Here we have a cross element here in both examples along with the sky sign only that this one is from Caracol Stela 3. He suggested that these might be the same person. I didn't like it at the time. However, that summer we had another mimi-conference in Calgary. came in presented to us a new chronology that totally disagreed with what we had done earlier. What we had done on the HS text, was to read the day that we thought was 6 Ak'bal (B2) and that others read as 6 This glyph here at A3 we thought was 1 plus Yax so that could mean that the was either Yax or Sek. Peter had suggested the solution that this DN here (A1-A2) fit between the IS (the birth of Pakal) and the day that we thought was 6 Ak'bal 1 Yax. What that caused us to do was to read the DN as 1.12.3.3. Floyd after looking at this realized that if you take this DN as 3.1.3.3 and took it from the date 6 Lamat1 Sip, if you added that DN ot resulted in the next CR that is in this text and he felt that this was the easiest solution. What he wanted to do was to place this in the middle of Pakal's life and then make the last date in the HS being in the 13th k'atun. I knew it couldn't be in the 13th k'atun because it's tied into the 11th k'atun in the Tablet of the Inscriptions, so I wouldn't accept Floyd's solution until I realized that we could have our cake and eat it too.

If we put the later date (which I don't have in this figure) in the time of Pakal's life or in the 11th k'atun and we subtracted this DN what we would get is a much earlier date than any of us had anticipated. It would give us the date 9.8.5.13.9 6 Lamat 1 Sip for the particular action that is recorded here. I believe that's the correct solution because it also fits with what Simon had suggested because the date that goes with this person at Caracol is 9.6.18.12.0 and there's actually only less than 30 years between those two days. That then, is biologically feasible that we are referring to the same The event is an axe event (B3) this the shaft of the axe person here. out in front as the first sign followed by other examples, since it's eroded here, the ka and ba signs. This particular group of glyphs was read by Jorge Orejel and Nikolai Grube as Ch'ak ba which means either "to decapitate yourself or to destroy and ruin things." It appears then, that we have a ritual sacrifice that I believe is based on self decapitation images that we see on pots and it's a ritual performance

of the sacrificial rite of someone.

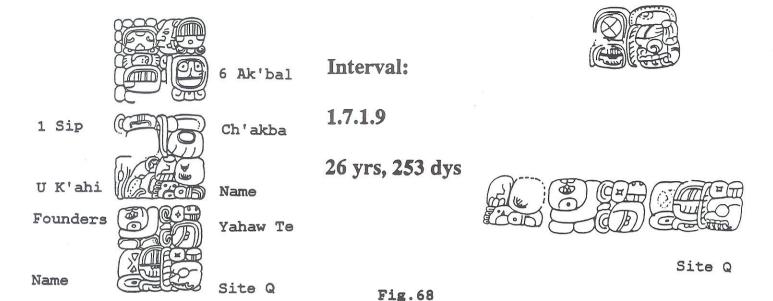
Now the problem we have here is how this worked. We have a glyph here that can be an agency expression u kahi (A4) followed by a name glyph here (B4), a glyph associated with Founders here (A5), we have yahaw to or a title that means "lord of the tree" (B5), then we have a name (A6), and the Site Q EG (B6). We don't know whether to read this person as the Yahaw to of him since this glyph is not possessed. It seems as if this entire passage here is the name of the person of the person that we are dealing with and it is the contemporary king of Site

Palenque HS

Caracol Stela 3

9.8.5.13.9 6 Lamat 1 Sip

9.6.18.12.0 8 Ahaw 8 Mol

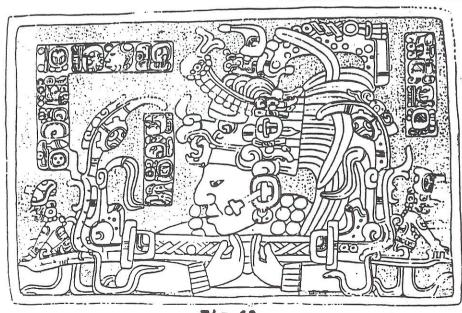


The question here is: Is someone being sacrificed by the action of him or is he the one being sacrificed? We don't know. If that is a u kahi in front, then we have to say that the guy from Calakmul is the one doing the sacrificing. However, whoever is the victor and whoever is the loser, it's really important here that in the middle of Lady Ol-Nal's rule there is an aggressive violent interaction with Site Q. We can't tell yet from this text if Palenque was the winner or the loser, but Palenque put it on the monument. I think we will find out why. This then, is the name of the guy from Site Q.

Now not very long after that, there's another possibility of a violent interaction (Fig.69). Nikolai Grube is the one who first noticed this.

Bonampak'

9.8.9.15.11 7 Chuwen 4 Sotz' (May 16, 603)



Bonampak Lintel 4

this date of 7 Chuen (A1) 4 Sotz'(A2) which is 9.8.9.15.11. If you compare that to the the last text that we just looked at dated to 9.8.5 then this is a little more than 4 years later. The text then continues with hubi which means "was thrown down" (A3) followed by u tok' pakal "the flint shield of" (which is the war instrument) (A4) Ah Lakam which David Stuart has read as "big or wide" (B1) and this is the Imix glyph in its personified form (C1) and we think it's read ha or nab. lakam ha or lakam nab glyph is, if you remember from Steve Houston's lecture during the Symposium, the name of the very large wide flat area of Palenque. This then says that the flint shield of a person of Lakam Ha was thrown down u kahi "by" (D1) and this is the name of the king from Bonampak here (E1-E4). David Stuart sent a letter to me recently and he suggested that this might be the Lakam Ha that is near Bonampak. This then, opens up the possibility that this is not a Palenque person, but none of the inscriptions from the Classic Period refer to the modern Lakam Ha as Lakam Ha. The single toponym that we now have in the inscriptions that is this bent over tree with a ha or nab sign is the main area of Palenque and it is entirely possible that this text from Bonampak is recording the capture of a Palenque lord less than 4 years after that interaction with Site Q. (Simon Martin points out here that later on Bonampak is allied with Tonina and Tonina was very nasty to Palenque.)

Then we come to the death date of Lady Ol-Nal (Fig.70). There has been some debate as to the date of her death. Her death date is written in a bit of a strange way. It's written as 2 Eb and then this strange head and the month sign Keh (#28). We then have och bih Na Ol Nal (#29). Now Floyd when he did his original anaylsis of the text on the sarcophagus lid edge in 1974, he argued that these CR's logically should begin chronological order. To place them in chronological order Floyd stated that this was not as the Seating of Keh, but as the end of Keh. From looking at the original photographs of this we can now tell that this half-head with flat lips and fish fin eyes is the Head Variant of this sign that goes over the tun glyph like this in standard "end of" expressions. I think it probably means "the lying down point of the month." This confirms that Floyd's original reading of this was correct as 20 Keh not the Seating of Keh. This means that Floyd's

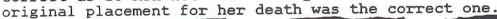




Fig.70

Here's her chronology then (Fig.71). Her birth is unknown. Her accession is 9.7.10.3.8 9 Lamat 1 Muwan. She ruled through the PE of 9.8.0.0.0 5 Ahaw 3 Ch'en and she died on 9.8.11.6.12 2 Eb 20 Keh. We do not know how old she was, but she ruled for just over 20 years and at least part of that reign was not a happy one.

birth unknown
accession 9. 7.10. 3
period-ending 9. 2. 0. 0
death 9. 8.11. 6
other references portrayed 0
3, and West

unkaowa

age at accession length of reign age at death

unknown
9. 7.10. 3. 8 9 Lamat 1 Huwan TI1
9. 8. 0. 0. 0 5 Ahaw 1 Ch'en TI1
9. 8.11. 6.12 2 Eb 20 Keh Sarc
portrayed on Sarcophagus (East Side, Figure
1, and West Side, Figure 2)
unknown
1. 1. 1. 4 (20 years, 319 days)

#### Fig.71

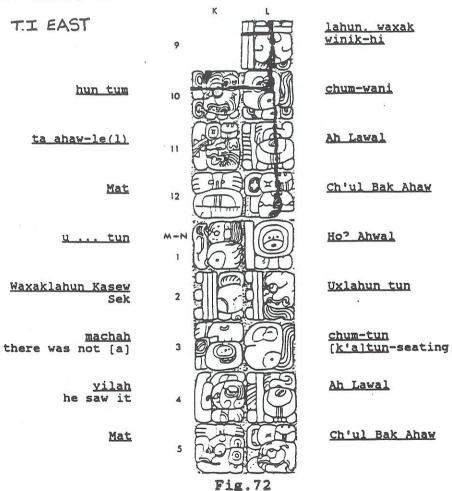
The name of this woman is one of the most difficult at Palenque. In the past we called her K'an-Ik', but it has become clear that all of the day signs have different values outside the daysign cartouche. The k'an sign appears in the codices and some phonetic contexts at Machaguila as wa, but evidence from the Kumk'u mouth glyph and other contexts show that the k'an sign was also ol. Both Nikolai Grube and Steve Houston independently came to this conclusion. In the name from the sarcophagus sides the k'an sign is infixed into the na-female head which has a la suffix. We think this phonetic complement points toward ol as her name. Ol was "heart of" and the name of the portal into the Otherworld. The last part of her name is an ik' sign surrounded by the foliation of the nal sign. Barbara MacLeod, Linda, and Nikolai have all confirmed two examples of the ik' "death" expression on the Hieroglyphic Stairs at Copan, which has na-li replacing the ik' component of the expression. We believe that the ik' sign outside of the day sign cartouche was simply nal and that the second glyph in this woman's name is the full version of it.

Lady Olnal was one of two women in the Maya inscriptions who are shown to have ruled in their own right—Pakal's mother was the other one. We do not have her birth date, but she acceded on 9.7.10.3.8 9 Lamat 1 Muwan (Dec. 23, 583) and she died on 9.8.11.6.12 2 Eb 20 Keh (Nov. 7, 604). Some scholars have disputed Floyd's earlier solution to her death date, but it turned out he was right. The strange glyph above the month sign is the half-head variant of T128, a regular component of "end of" expressions. She reigned for 20 years, 319 days, and she was the last king to have been in the patriline of the founder, for her children would have belonged to her husband's lineage.

The newest information about her reign comes from a little "heresy" that Floyd pulled on us in the 1991 mini-conference. Peter had suggested a solution to the dates on the Hieroglyphic Stairs. One of them concerned a ch'ak "sacrifice" event against a lord of Site Q. That same year, Simon Martin had suggested that the Site Q lord named on the stairs also occurs at Caracol associated with an early date on Stela 3. When Simon first suggested this association to us, Schele was very sceptical. But two months later, Floyd argued for a major revision of the HS chronology that would place the war event on the CR 5 Lamat 1 Sip. He wanted a later date, which we could not accept, but we were forced to accept his revision in the CR and the DN associated with it. That placed the war at 9.8.5.13.9 6 Lamat 1 Sip (Apr. 23, 599). This places the Palenque date within forty years of the Caracol date and it puts the battle into Lady Olnal's reign. She was apparently more than a token ruler.

Now Lady Ol-Nal was succeded a short time later by Ah-Ne-Ol-Mat. Again, to find out when his accession was we go to the PE recorded on the Tablet of the Inscriptions (Fig.72) as 5 Ahaw (N1) 18 Sek (M2). Then we are told that it was a PE of 13 tuns (N2) followed by a verb that reads ma cha ha or machah which means "it wasn't" (M3). Then we have chum tun (N3) to tell you that it was not a k'atun ending.

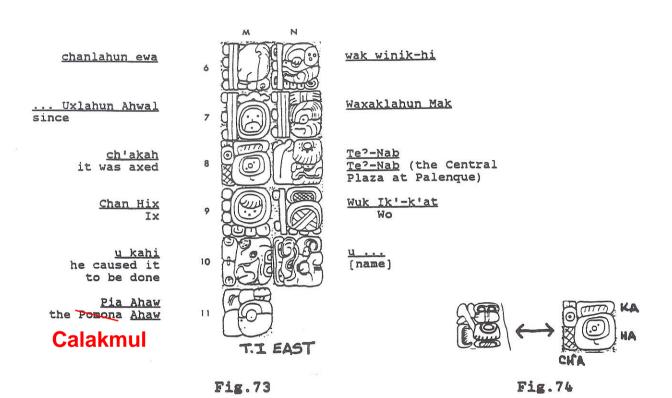
Now we go back up to the top of this passage and we get a DN of 10 k'ins, 8 winals (L9), and 1 tun (K10). Now the 5 Ahaw 18 Sek CR is recorded in the LC as 9.8.13.0.0 and if we subtract 1.8.10 from it we will arrive at the day 9.8.11.9.10 8 Ok 18 Muwan, which is the day of his accession. Here is the seating glyph or chum wani (L10) "after he was seated" as ta ahaw le (K11) or "in reign." His name has the same k'an sign with the la, so that part of it we read as Ol. This tail sign is read ne. His name then is Ah-Ne-Ol and I have no idea what that means (L11). He also has as part of his name a glyph that shows up with many Palenque names as mat, which means his whole name was read Ah-Ne-Ol-Mat (K12), and he was a ch'ul bak ahaw (L12).



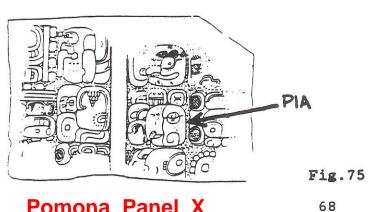
The last part of this passage reads yilah "he witnessed it" (M4) (which refers to the PE) Ah-Ne-Ol (N4) Mat (M5) the holy lord of Palenque (N5).

Now there was a passage in this tablet that we could never do anything with (Fig.73) until about a year ago Matt Looper and myself figured out a bit of what was going on here. This is the one piece of

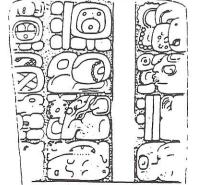
history that is associated with this king. It begins with a DN of 14 k'ins (M6) and 6 winals (N6) after the day 13 Ahaw (M7) 18 Mak (N7) followed by a glyph that reads ch'a ka ha or ch'akah which is the phonetic spelling of the axe glyph (M8) (Fig.74). It means "was damaged, was destroyed or to decapitate." This glyph is followed by Lakam Ha (N8). So what apparently happened on this earlier date of 13 Ahaw 18 mak was that someone came into the city and attacked and damaged the central area of the city. That date would be 9.8.17.9.0 13 Ahaw 18 mak.



The text then continues with a CR from the adding on of this DN of 6.14 is 4 Ix (M9) 7 Wo (N9) followed by u kahi "it was done by" (M10) a person named here (N10) and he was from a place called Pia (M11) with the main sign being a turtle head. If you look at the inscriptions from Pomona (Fig.75) which is the next big city over from Palenque, you will see operating as an EG and as a toponym a location which can be read as Pia (C2). Anyway this is an EG that shows up in the inscriptions at Pomona and it is apparently a toponym of some area of Pomona. So we have here someone from Pomona attacking Palenque.

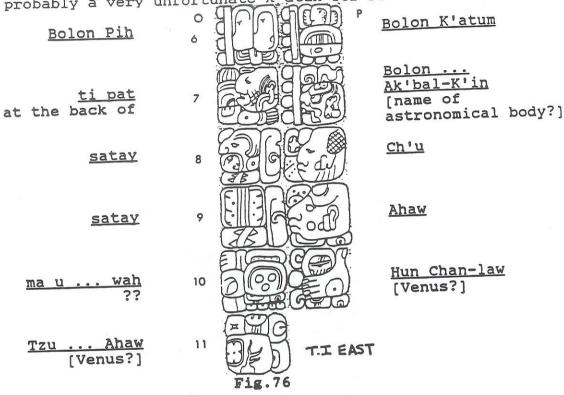


Pomona Panel X



Pomona Panel B

Just to confirm this, so far in this k'atun we had three attacks. We had one by Pomona. A possible one by Bonampak and we have one probably by Site Q. When they bid the k'atun prophecy for k'atun 9, which is when all of these dates fall into (Fig.76), we didn't know what they meant. This is the prophecy for the end of the 9th k'atun or all of the capture dates fall inside the 9th k'atun that ended on this day. In this part of the Tablet of the Inscriptions at 08 we have sa ta yi followed by k'u (P8) and sa ta yi (09) ahaw (P9). Satyi means "to die or end." What they say the prophecy for the end of this k'atun was "the gods died, the lords died." Nikolai pointed out to me that this was probably a very unfortunate k'atun for Palengue's history.



So this poor unfortunate fellow acceded on 9.8.11.9.10 8 Ok 18 Muwan (Fig.77). He oversaw the PE of 9.8.13.0.0 and he died on 9.8.19.4.6 2 Kimi 14 Mol which we will look at now (Fig.78).

birth accession period-ending death	unknown 9. 8.11. 9.10 8 Ok 18 Muwan 9. 8.13. 0. 0 5 Ahaw 18 Sek 9. 8.19. 4. 6 2 Kimi 14 Hol	TI1 TI1 Sarc
other references	none	
age at accession length of reign age at death	unknown 7.12.16 (7 years, 219 days) unknown	

#### Fig.77

Here then, is his death as shown on the sarcophagus lid edge. On 2 Kimi (#31) 14 Mol (#32) och bih "he entered the road" (#33) A He-Ne-Ol (#34) Mat (#35) the divine lord of Palenque (#36). The date that this death falls on is 9.8.19.4.6 2 Kimi 14 Mol. He reigned for about 7 years.

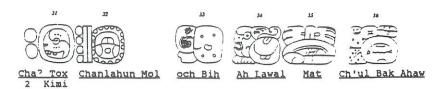


Fig.78

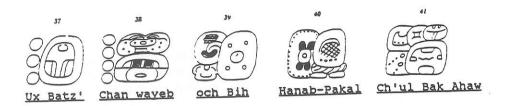
The name of this ruler is the most difficult of all at Palenque. Floyd originally used Ahk-K'an, but his Ahk ended up being the phonetic spelling of Ah, "he of." Several years ago, the mini-conference group tried a phonetic value of la for the scroll-comb sign in his name, but Nikolai has shown us that ne is the much more productive value. He has suggested, for instance, that it occurs as ne in GII's name, which he reads as Nen K'awil. We have the same problem with the k'an sign here as in Lady Olnal's name—is it wa or ol. We have chosen ol, because the examples from the east panel have a la suffix. The last component is phonetic mat, but we do not know what it means.

As with his predecessor, we don't have his birth date, but his accession was on 9.8.11.9.10 8 Ok 18 Muwan (Jan. 4, 605) and his death on 9.8.19.4.0 2 Kimi 14 Mol (Aug. 11, 612). His accession was tied to the oxlahuntun 9.8.13.0.0. The date is accompanied by the phrase machah chum tun, "it wasn't a tunseating," reinforcing the fact that the pe was not a k'atun ending. And the text says that Ah Ne-Ol-Mat yilah, "saw v."

Matt Looper an chele (Texas Note 25) identific ar event in his reign. Re ched phonetically as ch'akah (2 ne reading of the ax war event), it concerns te-nab, the place name used to identify the central plain with the Palace and Group of the Cross at Palenque. Dated to 9.8.17.9.0 13 Ahaw 18 Mak (Nov. 24, 610), this event seems to have involved a raid that penetrated into the central precinct at Palenque. It is followed on 9.8.17.14.14 4 Ix 7 Wo (Apr. 7, 611) by another event that seems to say that it was the doing of a person (Unewa??) who was a lord of Pia, a province noted in the Pomona inscriptions.

## HANAB-PAKAL I

Now part of these wars that we have been seeing may also help explain this (Fig.79) because on the sarcophagus side we have this strange character who shows up just at this time without any real explanation. The date of his death is 3 Chuwen (#37) 4 Wayeb (#38). The text then says och bih (#39). His name we used to just call Pakal, but David Stuart and Nikolai Grube have shown that this so-called propeller glyph is replaced by Ha Na Bi and followed by Pakal written out phonetically or Pakal as just the shield. They have suggested that instead it should be read Hanab-Pakal. They also showed that this shield sign is also a flower blossom. Hanab if you look it up in the dictionaries means "one of the flowers that you find in the milpa." His name then, is Flower Shield or Hanab-Pakal I.



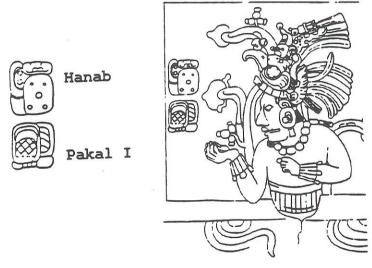


Fig.79

On the sarcophagus side next to his portrait you can see his name spelled out entirely phonetically. Now to finished the sarcophagus text up above, "he entered the road" Hanab-Pakal I (#40) the holy Palenque Ahaw (#41).

Now the problem is that the date of this LC as it falls in chronological sequence is 9.8.18.14.11. The date of Ah-Ne-Ol-Mat was at 9.8.19 you can see that Hanab-Pakal I's death about a 1/2 year earlier than Ah-Ne-Ol-Mat's death. Now the problem is Hanab-Pakal I is shown on the sarcophagus side in a portrait and the older king was not. This has been one of the things that has caused a lot of debate in Palenque's history on why Hanab-Pakal I was shown and not Ah-Ne-Ol-Mat. Again, taking the easiest explanation is that they were brothers and that the older brother took the throne and that the younger brother

would have taken the throne next, but he died too soon. He died before his brother and I think maybe, in one of these wars, but it was Hanab-Pakal's child who inherited the throne and so he gets put on the side of the sarcophagus as a progenitor, but not as a king. There is all sorts of iconography that supports that.

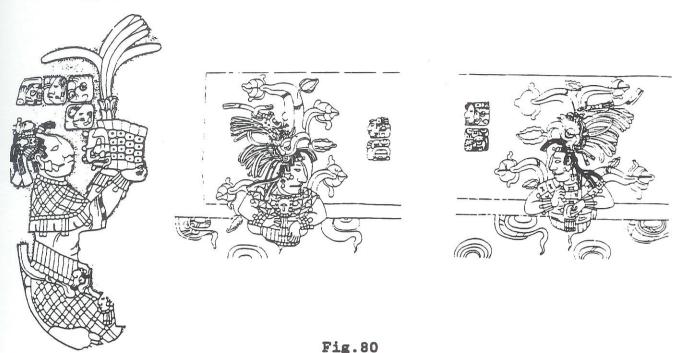
His name is also his headdress. The logographic form of the shield is a flay-faced shield. The head variant of that is an owl and what we have here is a picture of the owl in place of the shield. In other words, he is wearing the bird version of his name in his

headdress.

This is the first of two people to carry the name of Pakal. Several years ago, David Stuart and Nikolai convinced us that the famous propellor-like sign was replaced by the phonetic combination reading hanab, and that the flayed-face shield was the pakal or "shield" part of the name. The portrait from the sarcophagus has the name in full phonetic form—Ha-na-b(i) Paka-l(a). This fellow died on 9.8.18.14.11 3 Chuwen 4 Wayeb (Mar. 9, 612), 155 days before Ah Ne-Ol-Mat. Hanab-Pakal never ruled and died before the reigning king, yet he is pictured on the sarcaphogus sides, while Ah Ne-Ol was not. We think this is because they were brothers, and that the line descended through the younger brother, Pakal, who never had a chance to take the throne.

## LADY-SAK-K'UK'

The next person that we will talk about is the person just before the great Hanab-Pakal II. Her name is clearly given on the Oval Palace Tablet (Fig. 80) as Sak Na (B1) K'uk' (C1). You can also see the Sak combined with the Quetzal bird in her name on the sides of the sarcophagus. She is clearly named as the mother of Hanab-Pakal II (not shown here).



Now in the inscriptions there is a person who accedes in between this character Ah-Ne-Ol-Mat at Pakal the Great. That accession is recorded here on the Tablet of the Inscriptions (Fig.81). The PE date was on 3 Ahaw (P2) 3 Sotz' (O3) and we are told directly that this was the 9th k'atun (P3) so there is no doubt about this date, 9.9.0.0.0 3 Ahaw 3 Sotz'.

The passage begins with a DN of 2 k'ins and 10 winals (N11) after she was seated (M12) in reign (N12). Now if you subtract that DN of 10.2 from 9.9.0.0.0 you will arrive at 9.8.19.7.18 9 Etz'nab 6 Keh as the date of her accession. Her name here is clearly not Sak K'uk (01). In fact, it's the Palenque EG bird with feathers in her mouth and an unknown unique sign superfixed above it. We think it may read hun tan which means "caretaker." It is however the name of the First Mother of The bird is clearly read as ta. I think that this refers to the Gods. her as the mother of Pakal and that she is same as the mother of the gods and so Pakal puts himself in relationship to his mother in exactly the same way the Triad of Palenque is gods are in relationship to the First Mother of the World. If you don't like that argument, then you just presume that this a person who only shows up this one time in the Palenque inscriptions and is never mentioned anywhere else. She reigns for only 2 1/2 years and disappears forever. I think that it is far more likely that this is just Pakal's mother who takes the throne while he still a young child and holds it until he accedes.

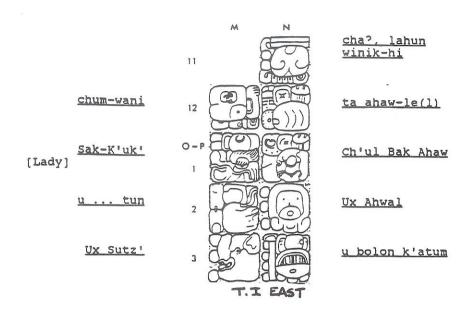


Fig.81

On the sarcophagus lid text we have a very strange way of recording her death (Fig. 82), but if you think about it, it really is quite wonderful the way it was done. You have a Tzolk'in day here (#43) and a Haab day here (#44) and another Tzolk'in day here (#42) and another Haab day here (#46). It can't be read like it's written, but you have one CR here that has u chum tun K'uk' Sak (#45). If you look at the PE, 1 Ahaw (#43) 8 K'ayab (#44) is 9.10.0.0.0 and as Berlin pointed out 25 years ago, that's the third point in the 9 k'atuns that are covered by the upper tablet. So that is what we think is going on. We have here the 9.10.0.0.0 k'atun-ending set inside the CR of her death date as if it were a parenthesis. The 4 Chicchan (#42) 13 Yax (#46) is her death date and that falls on 9.10.7.13.5. Now here is the interesting part. She accedes well after her son is born. The holds the throne and he accedes in 9.9.2.4.8, which we will see when he is 12 years old. So she held the throne for less than 3 years so it appears that she is acting as a regent.













Chan Chakchan Hun Ahwal Waxak K'anasi

K'uk'-Sak

Uxlahun Yax

och Bih

Here's Lady Sak-K'uk's chronology then (Fig.83).

#### Lady Sak-K'uk'

birth	unknown			
	9. 8.19. 7.18 9 Etz'nab 6 Kah TI1			
period-ending	9. 9. 0. 0. 0 3 Ahaw 3 Sotz' TI1			
period-ending	9.10. 0. 0. 0 1 Ahaw 8 K'ayab Sarc			
death	9.10. 7.13. 5 4 Chikchan 13 Yax Sarc			
other references	other references portrayed on Sarcophagus (North Side, Figure 1 and South Side Figure 2) named (posthumously) in the Templo Olvidado text (9.10.14.5.10) named and portrayed in a tablet found in the Palace (Schele and Mathews 1979, no. 82) portrayed on the Oval Palace Tablet			
age at accession a length of reign	unknown, but probably between about 24 and 49 1. 8. 5. 7 (27 years, 325 days) assuming that she was co-ruling until her death unknown, but probably between about 53 and 78			

Lady Sak-K'uk' was probably the daughter of Hanab-Pakal I and she was certainly the mother of Hanab-Pakal II. Her death is recorded on the sarcophagus side in association with the period-ending 9.10.0.0.0, which occurs parenthetically between the tzolkin and haab notations of her death. She died on 9.10.7.13.5 4 Chikchan 13 Yax (Sep. 7, 640).

We think her accession is recorded on the east panel of the Temple of Inscriptions on the date 9.8.19.7.18 9 Etz'nab 6 Keh (Oct. 22, 612). In these passages, however, the person who acceded is recorded with the name of the First Mother, who we think may have been named Na Huntan or "Lady Caretaker" (see last year's workbook). On the Oval Palace Tablet, she wears the net-skirt and cape that are associated with images of the First Mother and First Father. If this is correct, then

Lady Sak-K'uk' would have ruled 2 years, 280 days before her young son was put on the throne. We suspect she was a power behind the throne long after that. Certainly, the Oval Palace Tablet shows her giving her son the drummajor helmet of war without Pakal's father in

evidence. We think the throne passed through her and caused a second displacement of the royal lineage.

BREAK 3:20-3:45 P.M.

#### HANAB-PAKAL II

(Peter Mathews) We are about to start with the birth and the accession of probably the greatest of all the Palenque rulers. A ruler that we now read his name glyph as Hanab-Pakal II. Here is his portrait (Fig.84). His name glyph is the second position in this short name caption to the right of Pakal on the Oval Palace Tablet. It begins with an honorific prefix called K'ina and then we get the combination of Hanab and Pakal. The first glyph (D1) may read ah huntan or "He the Cherished One" and the third glyph there (D3) is the Palenque EG. This then, is just a main caption. It is not saying anything about the event or on the date on which the event occurred. The pictorial content of the scene at least gives you an indication what the event was even if the date isn't recorded.

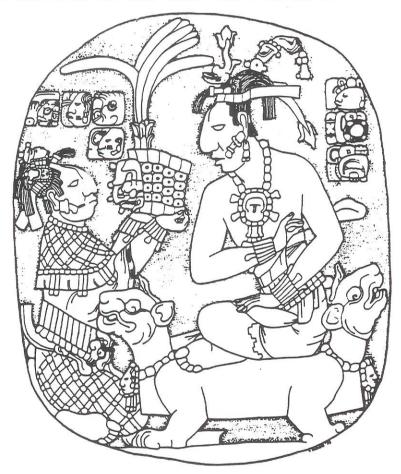
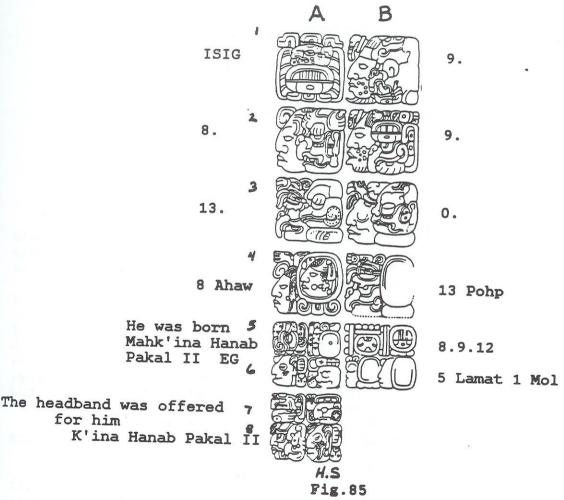


Fig.84

You can see Hanab-Pakal II seated on a double-headed jaguar throne and he is being offered the Drum-Major Headdress as a symbol of royal power. This then, is his accession monument, but we have to look elsewhere for the dates concerning his accession, and how old he was, and so on. (Linda interjects here and says that: the critical things here about this text is that his mother is giving him his headdress and his father is no place in evidence. This is reason for presuming that he's inheriting the throne from his mother and not from his father. His father never ruled and in this scene he is not shown passing on any of the objects of power.)

No we will look at some of the texts that spell out when Pakal II

was born and when he became king and there are many of them here at Palenque. We will begin with the first passages from the Hieroglyphic Stairs from House C of the Palace (Fig. 85). The initial date has Head Variant forms for the periods and it records the date 9 (B1). 8 (A2). 9 (B2). 13 (A3). 0 (B3) or 9.8.9.13.0 and that reaches the day 8 Ahaw (A4) 13 Pohp (B4). We then get the verb which is the birth frog recorded in the first part of A5 so "He was born" and his name is recorded in the second part of A5 as Mak'ina Hanab and the last part of his name here is Pakal and he is holy Palenque lord (A6). We then get a DN of 8 k'ins, 9 winals, and 12 tuns (B5) and we go forward to another date that is unfortunately eroded, but enough survives to read the day 5 Lamat 1 Mol (B6) if we add the DN to the birth date of 9.8.9.13.0 we will get the day 9.9.2.4.8 5 Lamat 1 Mol. Since we have this date recorded on other monuments this reconstructed date is a secure one. Then on that date we have recorded that the headband was offered for him (A7) K'ina Hanab Pakal II (A8). So here we have his birth and accession tied together with a clearly depicted DN of just about 12 1/2 years.



This same DN of 12.9.8 occurs on the Tablet of the Inscriptions the west panel (Fig.86). The text begins with that same DN of 8 k'ins, and this should be 9 winals (E1). We still don't know what to do with the 9. At one point we seemed to feel that there little elements in the three dots that where symbols for 3, so that would mean that there were 3 dots of 3 each, but now I just think that it was just a computing error. The reason why we think this is error is later on in the text we have the CR recorded as 8 Ahaw (E3) 13 Pohp (F3) which is

the same date recorded on the Hieroglyphic Stairs text that we just looked at giving his date of birth. Then later in our text we get another CR of 5 Lamat (E6) 1 Mol (F6) that was also recorded on the Hieroglyphic Stairs as well. With this one exception (Tablet of the Inscriptions) we have the same DN recorded between the dates and more importantly we have the same protagonist, the same subject of the verbs, and the same verbs. This is because here we have "He was born" (E2) Mak'ina Hanab-Pakal II (F2) on the day 8 Ahaw (E3) 13 Pohp (F3) and then the headband was offered (E4) for him (F4) Mak'ina Hanab (E5) Pakal II (F5) and this is the exact same sequence of birth date and accession date.

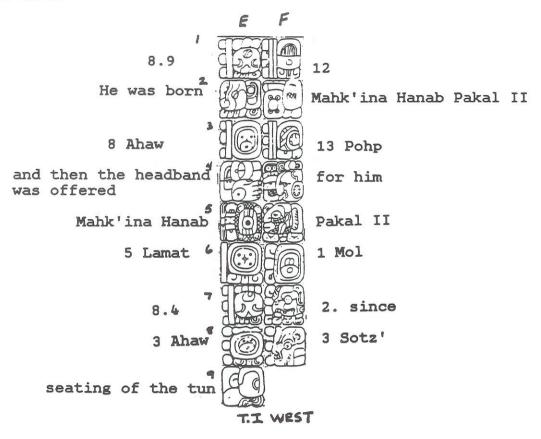


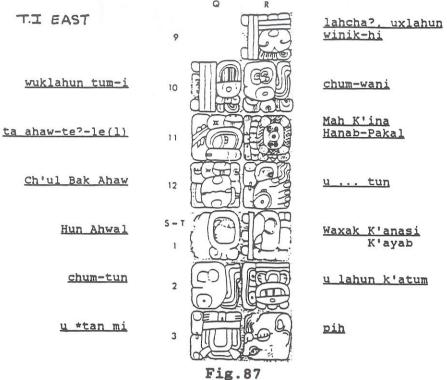
Fig.86

Now on this text, if this was the only text we had, you could say that so far, if you want to play the devil's advocate, that we do not know what the LC position is for these CR's and each of these dates repeats every 52 years. Again, the Maya give you an anchor date and what they do is go back with a DN of 8 k'ins, 4 winals (E7), and 2 tuns (F7) since the day 3 Ahaw (the worm-like element over the ahaw sign indicates that you are going back in time to an earlier date) (E8) 3 Sotz' (F8). So if you subtract the DN of 2.4.8 from 9.9.2.4.8 you will arrive at 9.9.0.0.0 3 Ahaw 3 Sotz' and then the Maya state that it was seating of a tun (E9) which refers to the end of the k'atun.

(Linda mentions here that: because the birth is given in an IS, that means that this text is fixed in a cycle of 375,000 years. You can not move this date except forward and backward by that length of time. Remember, if you say that 3 Ahaw 3 Sotz' is the end of the seating of the tun, that puts this part into the 18,980 tuns before we can repeat this. So by these two acts alone, they lock the birth and the accession into a cycle that can not repeat except by units of 375,000 years.)

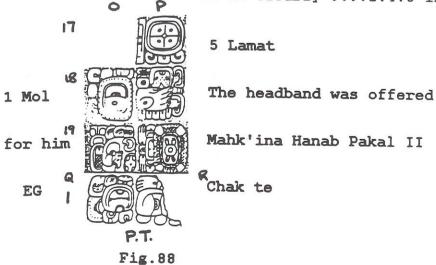
78

Now towards the end of the East Panel of the Tablet of the Inscriptions we have this passage (Fig.87). The text begins with a DN of 12 k'ins, 13 winals (R13), and 17 tuns (Q10) since he was seated (R10) in reign or ta ahaw le (Q11) Mak'ina Hanab-Pakal II (R11) the holy lord of Palenque (Q12) until (R12) the day 1 Ahaw (S1) 8 K'ayab (T1) the seating (S2) of the 10th k'atun (T2) half of a (S3) bak'tun (T3).

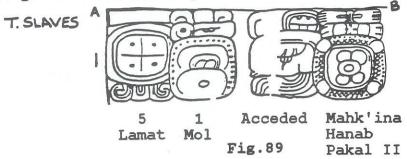


That particular date can be reconstructed as 9.10.0.0.0 1 Ahaw 8 K'ayab. If we subtract from it this DN to get back to the earlier seating we will get 9.9.2.4.8 5 Lamat 1 Mol as the date for his accession.

We also get the 5 Lamat 1 Mol repeated elsewhere (Fig.88). This is on a later ruler's own accession phrase and it ties Pakal's accession to that ruler's accession. Here is the date 5 Lamat (P17) 1 Mol (O18) and the headband was offered (P18) for him (O19) Mak'ina Hanab-Pakal II (P19) the holy lord of Palenque (Q1) chak te (R1). Following that passage you have a longer DN that links that date to the later accession of his son. This date then is clearly 9.9.2.4.8 in the LC.



On the Tablet of the Slaves (Fig.89) an even later monument, we again get the day 5 Lamat 1 Mol (A1) with another accession term that I will not go into followed by the name Mak'ina Hanab-Pakal II (B1).



This last date from The Tablet of the Slaves is the only one that is tied in directly to a LC statment. So his accession date is clearly 9.9.2.4.8 and that is just a few years after the battles that Linda was talking about earlier.

(Linda Schele) This is Stela 26 from Piedras Negras (Fig. 90). Here we have a presentation of Ruler 1 of Piedras Negras in the Tlaloc War costume. This is the great Mosaic War Serpent that we saw earlier on Stela 31. He holds the square shield and there is a war serpent staff in the other hand. He has down in front of him two captives. The captive text on the bottom left is very difficult to read. There appears to be a location here (A1), a name here (A2), and ahaw (A3). He is some sort of ahaw from someplace. (Nikolai states that this name appears exclusively in the area of Bonampak/Lacanha.) Mary Miller has looked at this monument and has suggested that this EG on the right side of the monument may be the Yaxchilan EG.

P.N 5.26

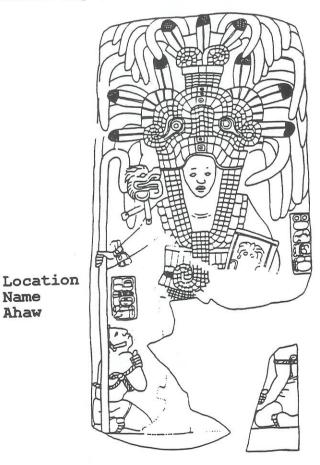


Fig. 90

However, Nikolai has looked at this too from the original Maler photographs sees not the Yaxchilan EG there, but the bone from the Palenque EG (Fig.91).

PN. 5.26

Piedras Negras

9.9.11.12.3 7 Ak'bal 11 Mak (Nov. 13, 624)



Ch'ok

Balam

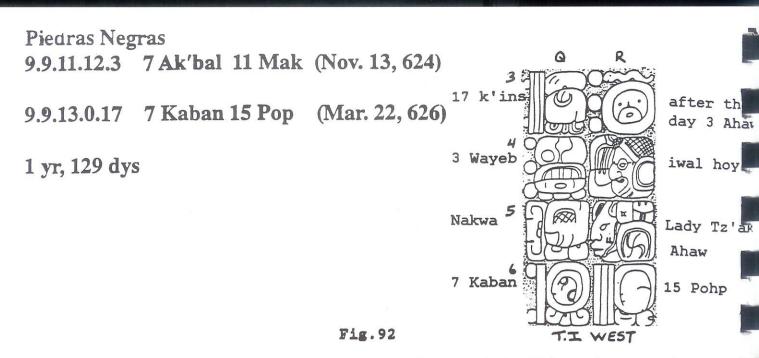
Yahkuna "Administrator'

Palenque EG

Fig.91

The top glyph appears to be the ch'ok glyph with a tz'uk under it or a ch'ok with a ko under it. This is clearly a jaguar head (A2) and I think the next glyph is clearly a title calling him yahaku na or yahkuna meaning "administrator of a site" as David Stuart and Steve Houston have read this glyph. I think that this statment simply says that "this fellow is the yahkuna of the divine lord of Palenque." This is not a king being mentioned here. It is a secondary noble that's being taken because to get that, there must have been a battle with Palenque and the date of this as reconstructed from the back of this monument is 9.9.11.12.3 7 Ak'bal 11 Mak. This is about 7 years after his accession and what we have then is a string of battles involving Site Q, Pomona, and Piedras Negras in which Palenque is the apparent loser. This may explain why in the texts of Palenque after Kan-Balam I rules a woman reigns, and then you have another male reign, and then another woman again before it goes to Pakal. It could be that a lot of the male heirs were being killed off. Whatever these battles are about, they are causing distruption in the city's history.

Now the other thing that happens at this time that is interesting is this (Fig. 92). The top date on this figure is the date of the battle that we just looked at and I'm going to introduce another person in here now. We have a DN of 17 days (Q3) after the day 3 Ahaw (R3) 3 Wayeb (Q4) or 9.9.13.0.17 7 Kaban 15 Pohp. Some of the epigraphers don't argree with this event, but it's read iwal or and then we read this sign as how (R4) then na ka wa or nakwa (Q5). How is the word that Terry Kaufman identified as the word for "companion" in Tzotzil that is used often in reference to a man's wife. We also have this recorded as an upended vase title that also happens to read hoy and it's read hoy ch'ul na or "companion holy woman" and it seems to be the principle title of the king. Nakwa is a verb that Floyd identified that means "for two things to be brought closer together." We think that this is a metaphor or reference to marriage and the woman that is coming close to the king is Na Tz'ak Ahaw (R5). We used to call her Lady Ahpo-Hel, but the reading for the hel glyph is now clearly tz'ak. So about 1 year and 129 days after this possible battle with Piedras Negras the king marries his wife and it occurs on the day 7 Kaban (Q6) 15 Pohp (R6) or 9.9.13.0.17. This text was from the Temple of the Inscriptions West Panel.



These are the inscriptions from Temple Olvidado (Fig.93). Heinrich Berlin is the one who found most of them. Peter was the one who reconstructed the positions of the glyphs. You should also know that this building was excavated in 1988 and under the floor in the three doors of the center wall a tomb was found. In the position where the head would have been on the body sat a whole pile of mosaic fragments which may have been one of these Drum-Major Headdresses.

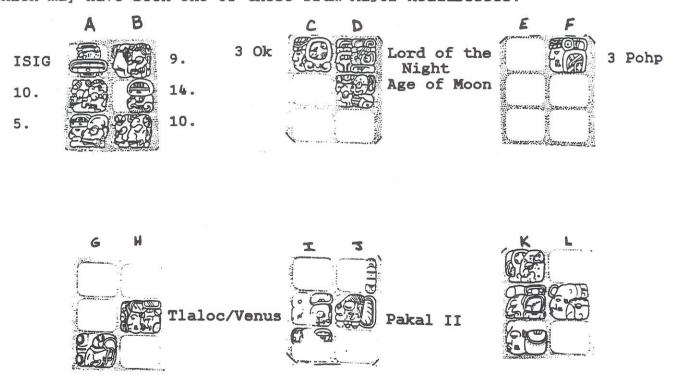


Fig.93

The IS starts out with the ISIG (A1) with the Patron for the Month Pohp then you get 9 (B1). 10 (A2). 14 (B2). 5 (A3). 10 (B3) 3 Ok (C1) followed by the Lord of the Night (D1) the age of moon here (D2) and finally the day 3 Pohp (F1). The verbs are gone. This however, is a title that is particularly assocaited with Tlaloc/Venus warfare (H2) and it appears that Pakal is the first one at the site to have it.

That makes a lot a sense because if you go here (Fig.94) where we have "his second" (013) followed by the same title at (Pi3) and followed by the west (014) chak te (P14) title. It says that Pakal's younger son (Kan-Hok-Chitam II) is the second person to hold this title.

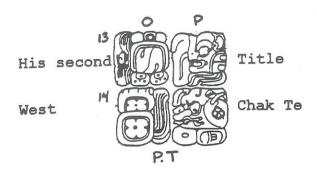
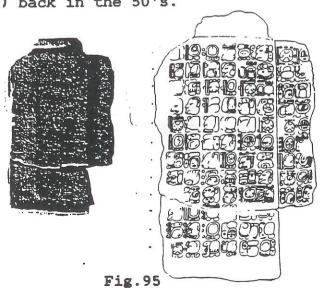


Fig. 94

Then back in Fig.93 we have this agency expression at (G3). The next two glyphs are eroded (H3 I1), but the next glyph reads K'ina (J1) Hanab (I2) Pakal (J2) the holy lord of Palenque (I3) followed by probably the "child of father" glyph (J3). This next glyph is a combination of a macaw, a k'an sign, and a jaguar which is stated from the sarcophagus as the father of Pakal (K1) followed by an EG (L1). The next part reads u bak u huntan "he goes as the cared for one of " (K2) Lady Tz'ak K'uk' (K2) followed by her titles (K3 L3).

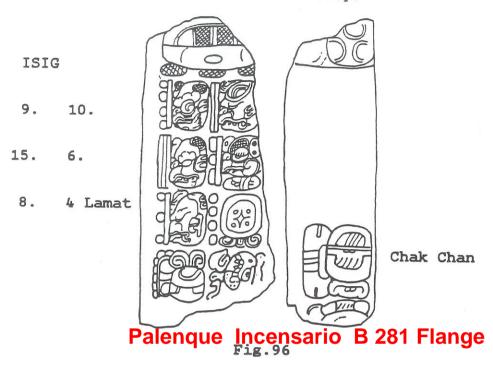
Now the problem is that we do not know what the action was there. It may be that the actor is a secondary noble who was doing that action under the authority of Pakal. We are just not sure, but this building (Temple Olvidado) is the first construction in Palenque's history that can be directly associated with Pakal and it is a good 30 years into his reign. That may be because earlier buildings have not yet been excavated or he didn't get along with his mother very well and really didn't get control of the throne until she died although I think that is less likely or even possibly he couldn't pull the kingdom together because of the wars that were going on strongly enough to start the great building campaign until the second part of his reign.

Now there is a whole bunch of fragmentary texts that now come into play. This is a stone incensario that was found in the Temple of the Foliated Cross (Fig.95) back in the 50's.



Palenque Incensario B 281

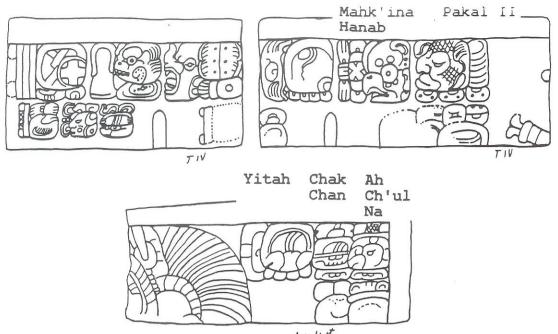
I'm not going to wor: hrough he dates on this since they fall on the back half of Pakal's reign. What I do want to work through is a little fragment of a flange to an incensario that was found in the late 60's (Fig.96). Peter has suggested that this is the IS flange piece that went right here on the incensario (refer back to Fig.95). We have not been able to fit because the incensario is in the bodega in Palenque and this fragment is somewhere in Mexico City.



The important thing here is that this fragment contains an IS date of 9 (A2). 10 (B2). 15 (A3). 6 (B3). 8 (A4) 4 Lamat (B4). This is a date after the dedication of the Temple Olvidado and this is right before 9.11.0.0.0, the k'atun where Pakal realy breaks out and begins a major construction program. There is a name on the side of this flange and it reads Chak Chan.

This same person shows up at two other locations. There is a large tablet that was once in some building someplace. The tablet was broken up at sometime and we do not know whether it was broken up during Pakal's reign or after his death. Two of the fragments (Fig. 97) (top texts) were used as building blocks from Temple II of the North Group. The bottom block was used inside the aquaduct. The first block begins with the end of a date here (A1). Here is the agency expression (D1) followed by the nane Mak'ina Hanab (E1) Pakal II (F1). So we know that thing records something that happened during Pakal II's reign.

The bottom fragment begins with yitah (A1) meaning "companion of." The problem here is that we do not know where this block falls. Since were are not sure who the person is being named as the "companion of." It might be Hanab Pakal II, but it's not certain. However, we do have the same Chak Chan title followed by Ah Ch'ul Na (B1).



Palenque Temple 04 Blocks

Fig.97

Now these little cartouche on the end of the sarcophagus are really neat (Fig.98). These are on the north and south end of the sarcophagus. We have never known how to read these before until now. On the north and south end they repeat each so that the cartouche completely encloses the north and the south glyphs. This person is also found on the legs under the sarcophagus and his name is Chak Chan Ah Ch'ul Na. This then, is the very same fellow that we have been talking about.

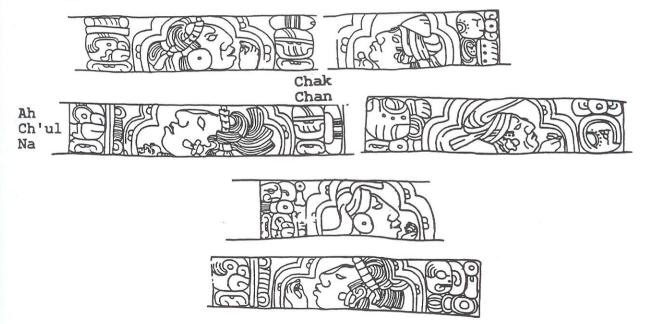


Fig.98

This fellow may have been a major administrator for Pakal II, but Ah Ch'ul Na is listed in Tzotzil as "architect." I think that we are looking at a title that may identify the person who is responsible for the care and the building of the temple. The person on the north and south ends may be the pottraits of the artists and the architects who constructed the building or perhaps the administrator.

I saw a beautiful art exhibit called Egypt's Dazzling Sun which was put on by the Cleveland Museum of Art on the works of Amenhotep III and there was one beautiful statue of Amenhotep the son of Hapu. He was the king's chief vizier. This statue was put into the temple at Luxor. It shows the visier sitting in a beautiful cross-legged position with a scroll in his lap. The scroll had a text that went all the way across the top of it and there was text around the base of this larger than life statue. I happened to be there with the epigrapher who then read me the inscription. The inscription said: "I am Amenhotep son of Hapu. I am the king's chief vizier who commissioned to bring the stones from quarries. He commissioned me to make his sculptures. He commissioned me to make his temples. He has given me permission to take your offerings before the gods. If you would place the offerings in my hands, I will present them to the gods." If you look at the scroll it is completely eroded through the glyphs on the top from thousands of people putting their little offerings on top of that thing. I think that this guy might have been essentially the equivalent character who oversaw the construction of the building of the Temple of the Inscriptions for the king.

He was obviously important enough that at one time the king showed him in a narrative scene with him at some building in the city. That alone would point to his importance. Why he disappeared from the scene and is only mentioned on the sarcophagus and why this particular tablet was destroyed and broken up, we have no idea. I bet you that there are other pieces of this distributed throughout a bunch of other buildings in Palenque and the archaeologists working there now may recover parts

of it.

The next great event that shows up in Pakal's life is the PE of 9.11.0.0.0. If I wanted to, I could spend the next two days just talking about that PE, but I'm not going to. Floyd has done incredible work in helping us come to understand the way the Maya thought about it. Floyd identified, in the Temple of the Inscriptions, several years ago, that I'm not going to show you, that on night of 9.11.0.0.0 Venus first appeared as Evening Star in very close conjunction with Mars. The description of that PE describes the nature of the sky on that night. Several years after that a whole team of us discovered that on this PE and the PE after this one, that there is a wonderful series of passages that Steve Houston eluded to where the earflares, the helmets, the headbands of each of the gods of the Triad are brought out. This is the pih stuff that gets offeref and dealt with on all of these PE's. We have a detailed description of what those sorts of things are and I think eventually we will be able to tied detail to pottery.

This is the inscription from the Palace Tablet where you have some days since the event that we just talked about (E10-E11) (Fig.99) iwal ut "and then it happened" (F11) 12 Ahaw (E12) 8 Keh (F12) the 11th k'atun (E13) he set or ended the tun (F13) he scattered (E14) ch'ah "drops of resin" (F14) Mak'ina or K'inich (G1) Hanab (H1) Pakal (G2)

the holy Palenque lord (H2).

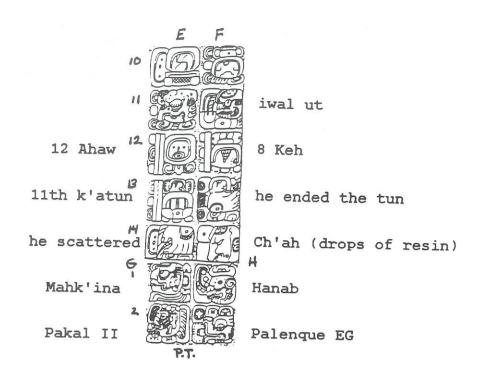
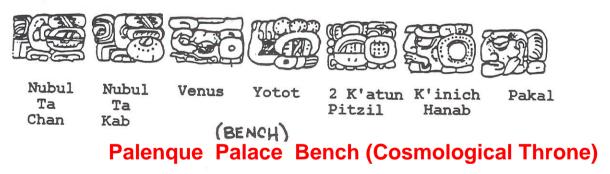


Fig. 99

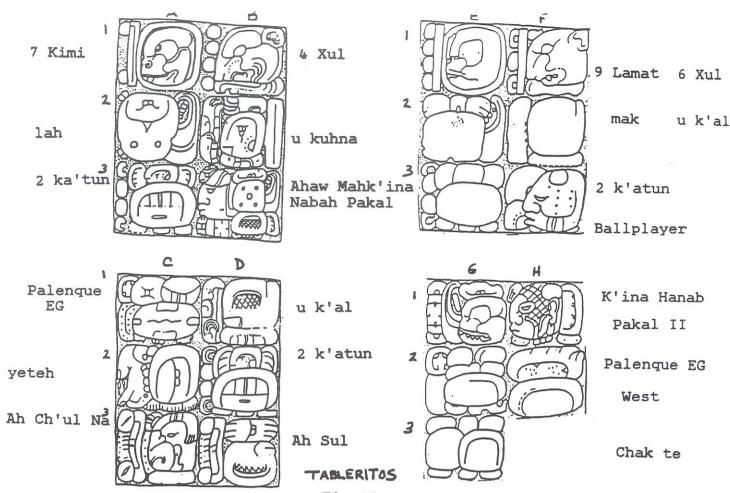
On a bench located at the south end of the Palace (Fig.100) we have an event recorded that looks as if it reads Nubul Ta Chan (A) Nubul Ta Kab (B), which may mean that "something happens in the sky and happens in the earth." The next glyph is the Head Variant that represents Venus as Evening Star (C). It is the Celestial Monster with the Venus sign in its eye. This is yotot, so this is some sort of Venus house (D). I think this refers to the subterranean chambers of the Palace. This is followed by the 2 K'atun Pitzil or 2 K'atun Ballplayer (E) and again we have the K'inich Hanab (F) Pakal (G) as the name of the king.



# Fig. 100

These are PE expressions that record what he did on PE and this one refers to the particular astronomical events that characterized that PE. This is associated with the PE of 9.11.0.0.0 12 Ahaw 8 Keh.

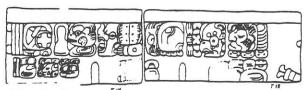
These are four of the texts from the Tableritos (Fig. 101). These are tiny tablets that were found in the subterranean corridors according to Berlin. There are two dates here that Floyd, long ago, figured out that the two dates are the 13th Haab anniversary of the accession of Pakal's oldest son to the heir designation. That same event happend to Kan-Balam II, the first born son to Pakal when he was 6 years old. This event is the 13th Haab anniversary of that event. We have 1 event that is two days before it (left texts) and we have this one recording the event on the exact day (right texts).



# Palenque Tableritos A Fig. 101 Palenque Tableritos C

We begin with the day 7 Kimi (A1) 4 Xul (B1) lah or "to end" (A2) U Ku Ha Na (which is some sort of object that the lah to done to or it may be another way of recording the end of whatever cycle he is dealing with) (B2). Then we have 2 K'atun (A3) Ahaw Mak'ina Nabah Pakal (B3). I think that this is one of the cases where we have a very well known glyph and they could switch the order of the reading of the signs and you still read them in the order that you normally would. So this could either Nabah or Hanab and a perfectly good argument could be made either way. Finally he is a holy Palenque lord (C1) and that end the first passage.

We will now get a second verb (D1). It is read u k'a li or u k'al which means "closure." The next glyph reads ye to he for yetch (C2) which means "by the authority of or by the work of." Then we have 2 K'atun (D2) Ah Ch'ul Na (C3) folowed by another title that reads Ah Su Lu or Ah Sul (D3). Now if we go back to the tablet fragments you can see that right here there is a name that went with a person who was seated on the monument (Fig.102). The first title is Ah Sul. So the man whose name is the person who does the work here appears as one of these secondary people in this inscription that I think we can associate with Pakal.



Ah Sul Palenque Temple 04 Blocks

Fig. 102

So here is another one of these Ah Ch'ul Na's who shows up in these broken fragments that was reused throughout the buildings. Remember, one of these guys gets put onto the legs of the sarcophagus and I don't think that anything went onto that sarcophagus that wasn't very highly prestiges. These guys wouldn't have been on there unless they were important to Pakal and whoever they were they were extremely important high level administrators, perhaps the principle bureaucrats that ran the kingdom for Pakal during the middle part of his reign. It would take a very important minor noble to get on to the same frame as the king. These Sahals and Ah Ch'ul Na's can have there own tablets in their space without any problem, but to be shown with the king on a tablet in the king's space is something very very different in terms of prestige.

The final part of this tablet states that 2 days later on 9 Lamat (E1) 6 Xul (F1). The verb here is eroded, but you can read ma and ha. If it read mak it would mean "to cover something" which would be nice (E2). (Steve Houston interjects here and states that these panels may in fact be door jambs and this glyph may refer to that.) Again we have u k'al recorded (F2) followed by the title calling him a 2 K'atun (E3) Ballplayer (F3) K'ina Hanab (G1) Pakal (H1) the holy Palenque lord (G2)

the West (H2) Chak Te (G3).

END OF DAY ONE 4:55 P.M.

SUNDAY MARCH 14, 1993 9:05 A.M.

#### WARFARE DURING THE REIGN OF HANAB-PAKAL II

(Linda Schele) I'm going to do a little back-tracking now and pick up some material that I went over briefly yesterday and wasn't sure that I should go over. I am now going to go over the warfare references that occurred during Pakal's reign.

This is a map of northern Chiapas (Fig.103) and Tabasco. Palenque is located here and we are going to be talking about Tortuguero, which is a site that is the western-most extention during Pakal's lifetime of the the polity of Palenque. Its dominion went at least this far in an attempt to dominate the west. The history of Tortuguero is rather strange in that Tortuguero blossoms during Pakal's reign and produces a whole series of monuments. It's ceramics are very close to Palenque's and in the same material tradition during that time.

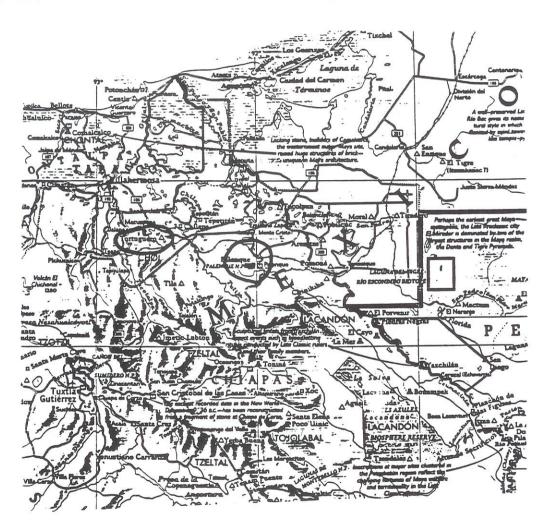


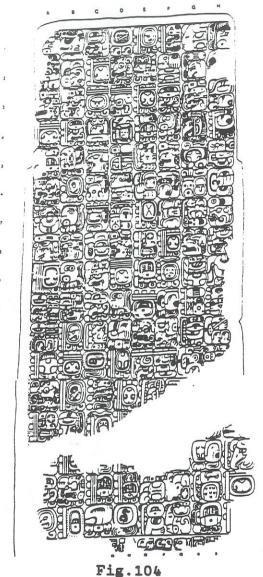
Fig. 103

Tortuguero is being reigned by a man called Balam Ahaw. We don't know what his direct relationship was to Pakal, whether he was a relative or a high level ahaw, but on the Tortuguero monuments at the time carries a Palenque EG. They also cite early events in Palenque as part of its origins. So is is very clear that at least during the time that Tortuguero is erecting monuments, it's in the Palenque polity. The other thing that you should know is that Balam Ahaw's lifetime basically, is a little bit shorter, but is contemporary to Pakal and

when Pakal died and when Balam Ahaw died, Tortuguero went on a little bit longer in the polity and then it erects no more monuments and the ceramics become significantly different than Palenque.

The inscriptions certainly tell us that during the time that Tortuguero is erecting monuments it's under the authority of Palenque. This is Monument 6 from Tortuguero (Fig.104). It was once a wall panel and it once had two smaller pieces of tablet that projected out from

the side of the panel.



Tortuguero M6

It reports a series of war events, an accession, some house dedications, and a series of other events for this ruler, Balam Ahaw. I'm now going to enlarge the drawing a bit (Fig.105) for the upper half of the monument. This is a very early event that happened at the Ha or the Nab of Palenque or the Great Plaza at Palenque. Recorded here at C1 is Iwal Ch'ahka which is the Axe Event and there is a site named here (D1) that has the fist with the cross-bands as the yo. The dots arounds that sign is mo and then the double kawak is pi so this reads Yom Pi. In the next phrase we begin with a DN of 8 k'ins, and 7 winals (C2) until we arrive at this date recorded at C2 D2. On that day we have a Star-over-Earth Event (C4) which is known to be war. This glyph is followed by u tok' pakal (D4), so this is against the war-making capacity of a man named 3 Jaguar (C5) and he is an ahaw from a place called Hok' Chan (D5).

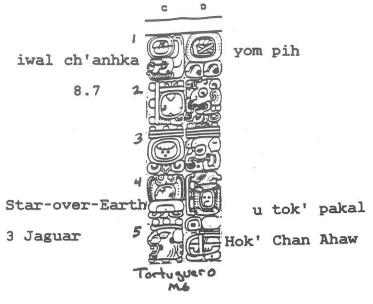
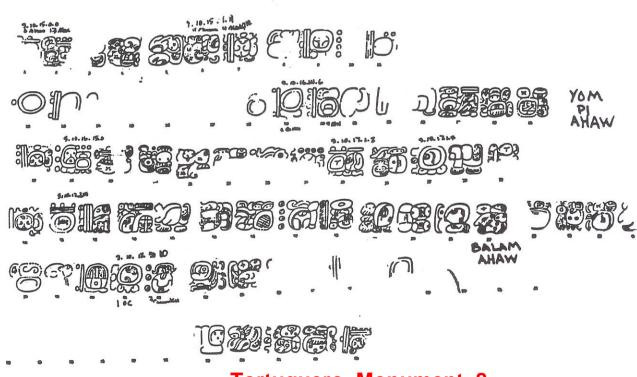


Fig. 105

On the sarcophagus of Balam Ahaw (Fig.106) we also have the same places referred to. Here is the Yom Pi Ahaw (#26) again mentioned and right here is the Star-over-Earth Event (#43) with "He of the Hok' Chan" or "the Bundled Sky-Place" and then a capture is recorded (#44). The date of this event is 9.10.17.7.14 and the first event was on 9.10.16.14.6. So these events are after the dedication of the Temple Olvidado and before that great PE of 9.11.0.0.0. Balam Ahaw (#52), we know was the subordinate of the king of Palenque or a first cousin or part of the family, we can not tell.



Tortuguero Monument 8

If we look at this map (Fig. 107), what seems to be happening is that in the reign of Lady Ol-Nal, Site Q (located here), which may be Calakmul, engages in some sort of war with Palenque. I don't think Palenque was the winner in that war. During her son's reign (Ah-Ne-Ol-Mat) Pomona attacks Palenque and damages the Lakam Ha or the Great Plaza area of Palenque. During the first 10 years of Hanab-Pakal II's reign, Piedras Negras takes a captive from Palenque. We then have at the end of the 11 k'atum at 9.10.16. and 9.10.17 Tortuguero is in a series of battles. The place names that are in those battles (the young Pi place name and the Hok' Chan place name) occur on bricks at Comalcalco, so we would say that those toponyms and those EG's probably refer directly to Comalcalco. What happened here was that Pakal sent out a major lord into the west to establish and stabilize the western part of his kingdom and what we are getting in the Tortuguero battles are a series of attacks and battles between Balam Ahaw as he stabilizes this western area of the kingdom through the presence of Tortuguero and I suspect that he shoves all of their enemies to the other side of Jalva River. This then makes the western part of the kingdom secure and safe. Then, in a few minutes we will see what Pakal did. the west was stabilized, Pakal turns his attention back to Pomona and he extracts vengeance for that earlier defeat and that is what we will see this morning.

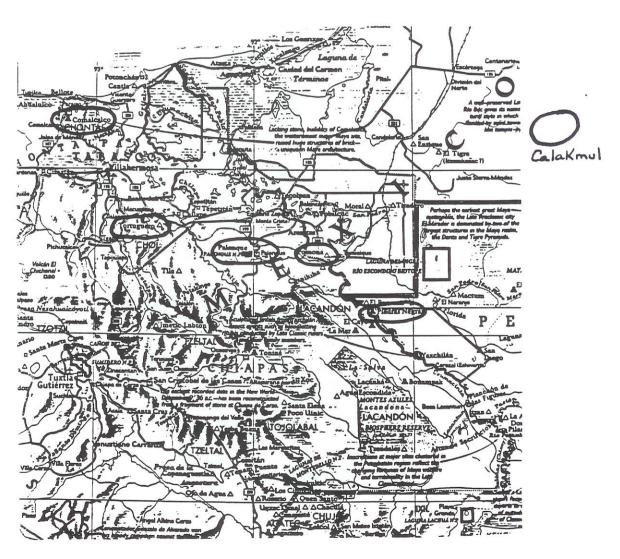
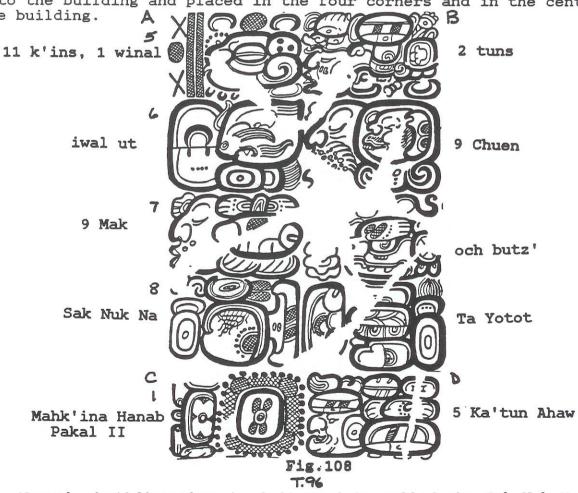


Fig. 107

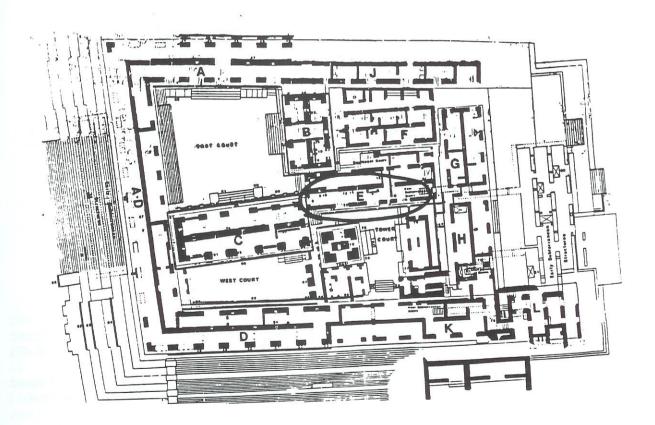
There's a number of lessons that come out of these new ideas. One is that we thought, for a long time, that there wasn't much evidence of anything going on in Pakal's early reign or up to 9.11.0.0.0 or from 9.9.2.4.8 to 9.11.0.0.0 which is about 38 years. What I suspect here is that there was a whole series of wars and that he inherited a very unstable kingdom. It then takes him that long (38 years) to stabilize the situation so that he can begin dedicating excess energy to build up the legacy he wanted to leave.

What we are going to see today is the first rash of building dedications that occurr. (Linda is waiting for some overlays to be made, so she decides to move ahead with the building dedications until they arrive.) This is the second clause from the Tablet of the 96 Glyphs (Fig. 108). This tablet was found face-down in a corridor of the Palace, but was once mounted in the stairs on the south side of the Tower. It is attributed to K'uk'-Balam II, a later ruler of the site, but it begins with information on what Pakal II did. The first passage begins with the day 9.11.0.0.0 or the great PE. Then we have a DN of 11 k'ins, 1 winals (A5) 2 tuns (B5) or 9.11.2.1.11 which is only about 2 years after that PE. Then he says Iwal Ut "and then it happened" (A6) 9 Chuen (B6) 9 Mak (A7). The next part is badly broken, but it can be reconstructed. These are the tail rattles from a rattlesnake (first part of B7) and on top of the main sign would have been the scroll sign for the fire or smoke glyph. This reads Och and Butz' and remember this is a building dedication in which the censors are brought into the building and placed in the four corners and in the center of the building.

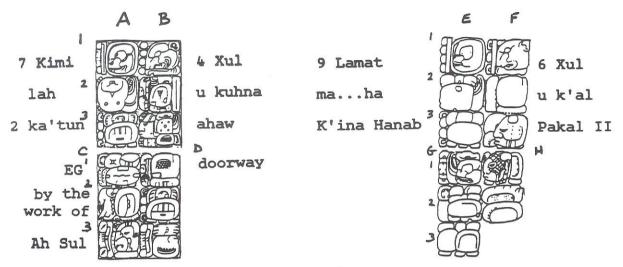


Now the building that is dedicated is called the Sak Nuk Na (A8) which means the "White Big Structure." The text then says Ta Yotot "in the home of" (B8) Mahk'ina Hanab-Pakal II (C1) the 5 K'atun Ahaw (D1). Now the rest of the text that follows this passage records the

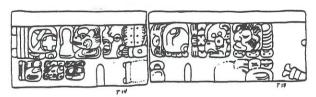
accession of a series of rulers including K'an-Hok'-Chitam II, Ak'ul-Ah-Nab III, and K'uk'-Balam II the last known lord who left a stone tablet at the city. Each one of those says that lords were seated on the throne in the Sak Nuk Na. The Oval Palace Tablet is located right here in House E (Fig. 109) and there was a throne in front of it. That throne records each one of these lords sitting on that throne for their accession. The Palace Tablet shows Kan-Hok'-Chitam II sitting on that bench in front of the Oval Palace Tablet for his accession. That is a very good piece of evidence that tells us that the Sak Nuk Na is, in fact, House E. House E was painted entirely white as Merle has proven and it had on the outside rows of flowers. That makes that house, what the Yukatek's called Nikte'il na which is the equivalent to a Popil Na which is a council house where the leaders of the city met with the king, where they kept the objects used for dance, where they communicated with the Otherworld, and where the dances were initiated. This then, is the "Flower House" of the city. In fact, he are the steambaths and as Dave Kelley pointed out to me, the word for "steambath" in Nahuatl is "Flower House."



This then, was the dedication statement for House E. This tells us that Pakal II was the guy who dedicated House E and it tells us that it was dedicated less than 2 years after that 9.11.0.0.0 succession. Now let's re-examine the Tableritos again (Fig.110) since I screwed it up yesterday. The date of the Tableritos is 9.11.1.12.6 and 9.11.1.12.8. I think one of the things that has misled me for a long time is that this happens to be a 13th Haab anniversary of K'an-Balam's heir designation. I think that this is a house dedication then after speaking with Steve Houston and Nikolai Grube last night. This is the date 7 Kimi (A1) 4 Xul (B1) this is lah we were talking about yesterday and that does mean "end or finish." I thought of it as being the end of the 13 Haabs, but they suggested that it was the finishing of the house. This is the house here (B2) U Kuh Na, so it is the something or another structure of the 2 K'atun (A3) Ahaw (B3).



Palenque Tableritos A Tableritos C



# Palenque Temple 04 Blocks Fig. 110

We then have the word for "doorway" here (D1) and we are told that the dedication was done by the "work of" (C2) this person who is the Ah Sul (C3).

Then 2 days later we have the day 9 Lamat (E1) 6 Xul (F1) followed by a ma something ha (E2) u k'al (F2) or "door jamb." It is also the word for the "closing of something" so it may refer to a kind of closure on the door. This then, was dedicated by K'ina Hanab (G1) Pakal II (H2). Now the question is where were these tablets found and I believe they were found in the subterranean corridors of the Palace and so I believe we have the dedication of the subterranean area in the south part of the Palace. If that is true then these are the dates we gave for the building dedications of the Palace. At 9.11.1.12.6 and 9.11.1.12.8, over a series of two days, the southern area of the Palace (Fig.109) is dedicated. Less than a full year later on 9.11.2.1.11

House E is dedicated. The next building that we are going to go to is this one recorded on the Dumbarton Oaks Panel (Fig. 111). I think these close approximations and closeness of these dedication dates for the subterranean area and House E is that this entire area of the Palace was built as a single project. Now this tablet begins with the same 9.11.0.0.0 date. The DN was 4.7.0 which would make this date 9.11.4.7.0 6 Ahaw (A4) 8 Kumk'u (B4). Here is the rattlesnake tail for och followed by another och represented by the hand followed by na for "house." The type of house that we are talking about is Tu Waybil (B5) or "Sleeping Place." Today, in K'iche, these places are called Waribal which is the same thing. It's the "place where people sleep" or the "place where the spirits of the ancestors' sleep." The K'iche go to various shrines to feed their ancestors, to share food with them through dance to call them out to share space with their living descendants. I think what we have here then is an ancestral shrine and Will Andrews has dug, just this sort of building at Copan, in the last two years as a building that is identified as the waybil from the inscriptions and it has great clouds all over it because these represent images of incense and the sky.



### Palenque D.O. Tablet

Fig. 111

They then tell us that this waybil was for the person named Ox Bolon Chak or "the Three-Nine Chak" (C1) and it says that it was done "by the action of" u kahi (D1) Mahk'ina Hanab-Pakal II (C2) the holy lord of Palenque (D2). The problem is that the Dumbarton Oaks Tablet is looted and no one has ever found its original position, so we do not know where this dedication took place. So within the vacinity of Palenque, three years after the subterranean area is dedicated, Pakal dedicates this ancestoral shrine and perhaps one day we will find it.

Now let's go to the next house dedication (Fig.112) and to me, the single most important event that ever occurs in Pakal's life. It is certainly the event that he remembered and that he celebrated which led to a sustained series of vengeances that are just amazing. This is a part of the Hieroglyphic Stairs that follows that war event that was enacted by Site Q. We are not sure exactly what to do with the first glyph (E1-F2). It reads ya leh followed by the three names of the Triad. Yaleh has two possibile meanings. It can mean "he said it" or

"they said it" or it can mean "it was hurled." We don't know which one was intended here. It may have to deal with the last passage or of the passage about to start. However, there is a verb right here (G1) and again we do not know how to read it. It could read Pasih. This is followed by a possessed noun that included a head that is blindfolded (H1) followed by a number tree. The number tree has the numbers 6.11.12 which is the eclipse number or moon number at Palenque. That has led people from the beginning of this century to wonder if this is not connected in someway with eclipses. Four years ago, while playing around with this at one of our Mini-Conferences and we finally had a computer that could tell us very quickly if it was or wasn't an eclipse. It ends up that if you take this event to have happened on 7 Chuen (F5) 4 Ch'en (E6) it was a lunar eclipse of about 70% where the shadow actually darkened part of the moon. That tells us that we are dealing with a series of events on that eclipse date (9.11.6.16.11). We then have the actor being Nu Balam Lakam Chak (G2 H2). This is actually the same name as one of the great protector ways that can be found on Lintel 3 of Temple 1 at Tikal. I think that this is a great wooden figure that gets animated by a way coming into it.

Here is the yitah which is either the "companion of" or the "sibling of" (E3) Shield Jaguar (F3) a Yaxchilan Ahaw (E4). This seems to be saying that the eclipse is being caused by this way or the actor in the eclipse is this great jaguar way and the jaguar way is the companion of Shield Jaguar of Yaxchilan. At this time, Shield Jaguar is about 12 years old and he is not the king yet. He is only the heir. There are some very strange things going on here. Pakal is evoking an alliance or an association with the contemporary lineage of Yaxchilan. Mary Miller has proposed that Yaxchilan was subordinate to Piedras Negras for a long time and it's about this time that Yaxchilan reestablishes its independence of the Piedras Negras dominance. Remember, in the early part of Pakal's reign, Piedras Negras took a Palenque captive. I think that it might be possible that Pakal is establishing contacts or alliances with Yaxchilan against the common enemy. Remember the principle, the enemy of my enemy is my friend. Following that is a glyph for capture (F4), but the problem is this part of this glyph is eroded and this is followed by u bak "the captive of" (G3) followed by a name that is recorded with a nu sign, an u sign, a skull sign (H3), and a chak sign (G4) followed by what may have been an EG (H4). We then have a repetition of the earlier glyph that reads Chukah "to capture" (E5). Then we have the date 7 Chuen (F5) 4 Ch'en (E6) yitah "was companioned or brothered" (F6) and then we have series of names. One has a crocodile head and the sky glyph (G5) followed by the phonetic spelling of Ak (H5). Here is the Maize God (G6) with the phonetic Ak following it (H6). Here we have a name with the white sign sak and the skull (E7). Here we have a bat name here (F7) and another sak name here (E8) followed by more names through here H8.

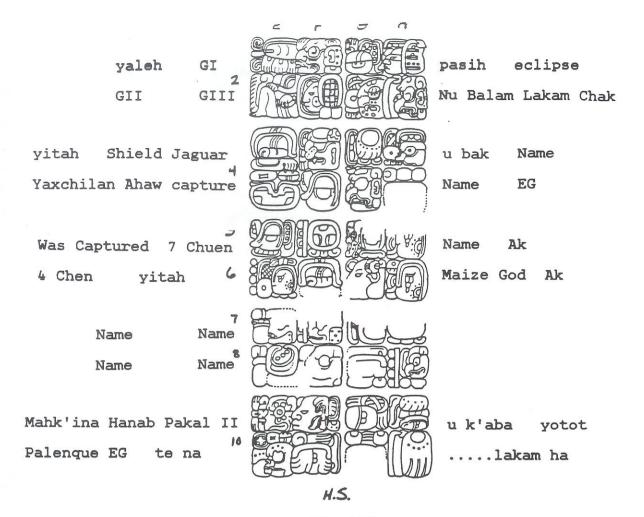
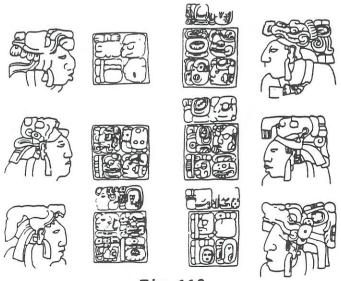


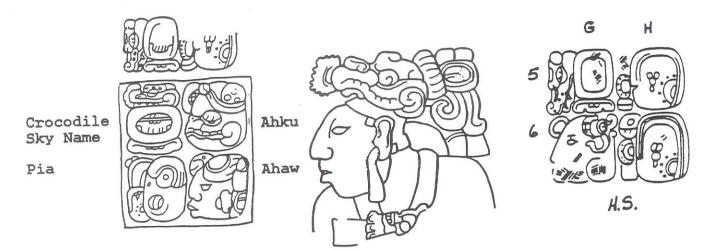
Fig. 112

Several years ago I had a set of students who were looking at the small figures that are along the base of House C (Fig.113) and they noticed that the crocodile and the sky sign from G5 is the exact same name of one of these captive characters. Here is the Ah Ku with the head of a turtle (bottom left). Here is the crocodile on the guy's head (top right). Here is the sak ha something (middle right). Here is the sak with the skull and the bat (bottom right). So four of these captives are named as companions on the stairs. I think these guys were taken as captives for the dedication of House C.



Palenque House C Lower E

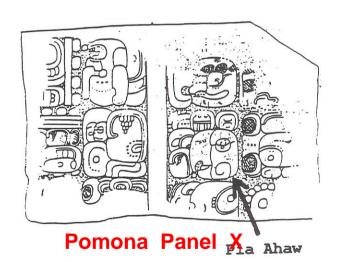
Now all of these guys have toponyms with their name, but we are interested in this one here (Fig.114). It has a pi followed by a little turtle (A2) and an ahaw (B2). Here's the crocodile and the sky sign (A1) followed by ah ku (B1) pi ah (A2) ahaw 9B2).



### Palenque House C Lower E

Fig. 114

Remember, the Pia Ahaw is mentioned in the inscriptions of Pomona (Fig.115) as an EG. This is a site that attacked Palenque and damaged the Lakam Ha during the reign of Ah-Ne-Ol-Mat. So what Pakal has done is stabilize the west and within 5 years of that he turns and attacks Pomona or where ever this toponym was. The date of this is 9.11.6.16.11.



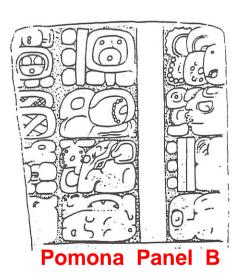


Fig. 115

Now to let you know that Pia is not by itself, as I think these sacrificial event tap into the iconography of the nawals on the pots. There has been found within the last two years an extraordinary wall at Tonina (Fig.116). This is two of probably five panels that were once

there. Three survive today. They show an incredible scaffold which I've seen on two pots thanks to Justin Kerr with this same scaffold and ceremony on them including the actors. There is a great skeletal god right here inside the sacffolding that is covered with feathers and a severed head hangs from it. There is an animal here that David Freidel thought was K'an-Hok'-Chitam, but not so. It reads K'an Ba (A1) Chok (A2) Xaman (A3) or the "Precious First Rat of the North." I think that it is the rat that cut the ropes that held the ballgame equipment of the Hero Twins. But over here we have the dancing skeleton who has a severed head in his hand and his name is Ah Ka Something (B1) Kimi (B2) Pia Ahaw (B3).



Fig. 116

Notice the skeletal figure does have turtle symbols on his feet,

so this text next to him may name him.

Let's finish up the inscription we were working on before I go to the Tablet of the Inscriptions (Fig. 112). Remember, we had an lunar eclipse that is involving Nu Balam Lakam Chak, who is the companion or the sibling of Shield Jaguar of Yaxchilan. Then you have what appears to the capture of a captive of this person who is named as Nu U something Chak. Then you have the capture repeated, the date given, and the then we find out that these six guys who are sitting there on this substructure kneeling as captives are companioned or brothered. think what happened was that they were sent into the Otherworld together and that's seen as a metaphor for birth or for becoming close, so they go into the Otherworld dismembered and sacrificed in exactly the kind of dedication passage that we have throughout the Mayan area. Finally when you come down to the bottom of the text, you get the actor named and he is Mak'ina Hanab (Q1) Pakal (R1) the holy lord of Palenque (Q2) followed by the name of the house as Te Na (R2) U Kaba "was its name" (S1) the house of (T1) something (S2) Lakam Ha (T2). Again. we are told that it occurs in the great area of Palenque. We now know that the name of House C was probably Te Na and that these guys were

sacrificed in this role and conducted in association with the first great dedication event of House C.

Now on the West Panel of the Temple of the Inscriptions (Fig.117) we have the record of an event that takes place 6 days later. The inscription tells us that 17 k'ins (L7), 16 winals (K8), and 6 tuns after the day 12 Ahaw (L8) or 9.11.0.0.0 until 9.11.6.16.17 "the seating of the tun" (K9). We had always thought that this frog was birth, but Nikolai has shown that it reads iwal huli or "and then he arrived." Now the person who arrived has the same Nu sign, the same U sign, the same skull sign (L9), the chak (K10), and an EG that has a bird with it (L10).

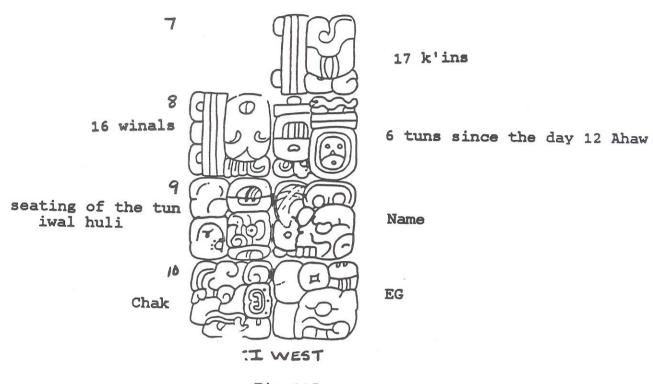
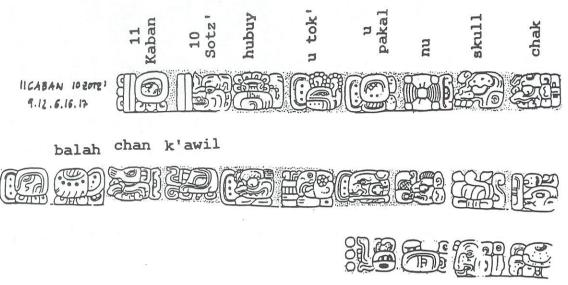


Fig. 117

This name of Nu U Skull Chak is identical to the name of Shield Skull of Tikal, the father of Ruler A. Now I checked this EG when I was in Palenque and to my unhappiness it was clear that this was not the animal version of the Tikal EG. It is clearly a bird. Two weeks ago I received a letter from David Stuart who has recognized from a jade at Copan long ago that this is the view of the back of the head with the knot from the headband on it (Fig.118). He also found one example that we've known about for many years that has a tu suffix. This is from Yaxchilan and he found another example from Tamarindito that has a mu. This means that we have one phonetic compliment that reads mu and another that has tu on the back. He proposed that this reads tut and he in Yukatek mut is a word for the "knot or the tying of the h dband." Mut in Chol means "bird" and this may be why we get the Taxal EG with a different logograph.



This is an inscription that the Dos Pilas Project found 2 years ago (Fig.119). It records the day 11 Kaban (#1) 10 Zotz' (#2) Hu bu yi or Hubuy which means "to down something" (#3) followed by u to k'o or u tok' "his flint" (#4) u pakal "his shield" (#5). So was thrown down, his capacity to make war is how to paraphrase that last statement. The person whose emblem of war was thrown down is named Nu (na) (#6) Skull (#7) Chak (#8). In other places this is followed by the Tikal EG. This is Ruler A's father and so on the day 9.12.6.16.17 Balah (#10) Chan (#11) K'awil (#12) or the king of Dos Pilas took the tok' pakal of Shield Skull of Tikal.



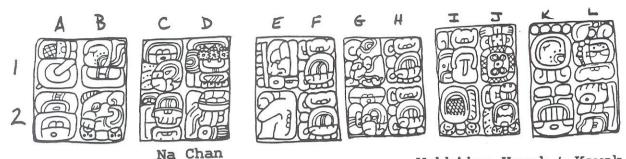
### Dos Pilas H.S. 4 Step 5

#### Fig. 119

Now look at those dates. The king of Tikal was captured exactly 1 k'atun after he visited Palenque and I don't think that's an accident because these are not astronomical dates, they are not even k'atun dates, and they are not PE dates. The king of Dos Pilas who is an ally of Site Q is killing that king exactly on the anniversary of day he went to Palenque. I think he went to Palenque to make an alliance with an enemy of an enemy. This history starts out with Site Q damaging Palenque and I think that the king of Tikal thought he would find an ally. Now there is no evidence whether or not Pakal joined them. If Pakal had gone to Tikal, that would have been one thing, but the Tikal king came to Palenque and that had to be the most prestigeous event in Pakal's life. It must have been the crowning achievement of his reign to become so important that the king of Tikal would come and visit him. The wars are not over yet however.

These are the inscriptions that are on the eves of House C (Fig. 120). I'm not going to go through all of them, but we start out in the first two eves the calling out of the Vision Serpent or the Na Chan (C2) yotot "in the house" (D2) and then there is a whole series of dieties that are called up (third and fourth panel). I think they may even be related to some of the stucco decorations on the interior hall, but I'm not sure. The actor we have named here is clearly Mak'ina Hanab (J1) Pakal II (I2) the holy lord of Palenque (J2) and the date is here (K1 K2). We've had a lot of trouble with the dates because it's just a CR. We once had it placed very much earlier because this is a

G2 date (Bruce Frumker states). What I have done here is to place the CR in a logical sequence with this series of dedication events. The LC is 9.11.9.5.19 4 Kawak (K1) 2 Pax (K2) and here is the och and the little platform, plus the na which is the same dedication event that we saw as the waybil on the Dumbarton Oaks Tablet (L2). This then, is some dedication of at least some component of the building.



Yotot

#### Palenque House C Eaves

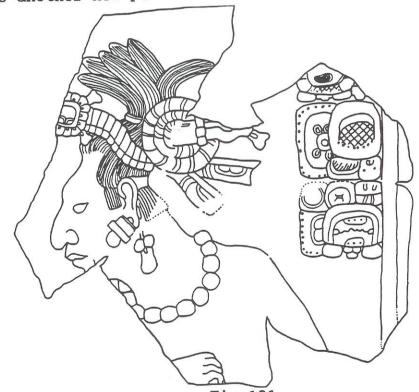
Mahk'ina Hanab 4 Kawak

Pakal II 2 Pax

Palenque EG Dedication

Fig. 120

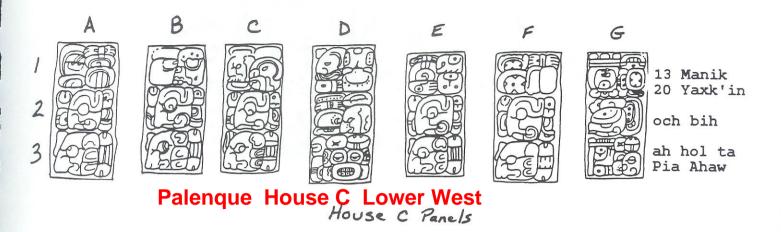
Here is another new picture of Pakal before I move on (Fig. 121).



Palenque Palace Fragment

These are the panels on the west side of House C (Fig.122). We do not know how to deal with them except that the first six of them apparently name people. Each of the last glyphs as you go through these panels read ch'ok, so they name people who are subordinates within Pakal's lineage. They maybe nephews, cousins, uncles, or his children, we just do not know. The last one is the most important one. The last one has the day 13 Manik, the end of or 20 Yaxk'in (G1). The

LC for that date is 9.11.10.16.7, so this is about a year after the dedication. This is och bi ha or och bih "he entered the road" (G2) Ah "he of" Ho La or Ta and he is a Pia Ahaw (G3).



#### Fig. 122

I think that this is the last sacrificial death of a captive taken in that great battle about 4 years after the battle itself and the process of the ongoing dedication.

Now the last war events are these (Fig.123 and Fig.124). These are the famous ugly captives. These are the strangest inscriptions in the whole city. I now think that they are probably a series of captives that Pakal took during all of this who were mounted on a building that was then destroyed. It may have been the building that had that tablet with all of the fragments that were re-distributed. They were brought up and put on the base of House A by K'an-Hok'-Chitam II, Pakal's son. On the two inner captives, the ones facing the stairs (#4 and #5), there is a CR date for each one and they are 1 day apart. The first one (#4) records the day 6 Eb 10 Wo and the other one records the day 7 Ben 11 Wo. Then there is an event and a subject

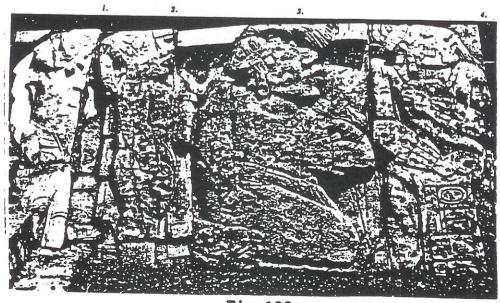
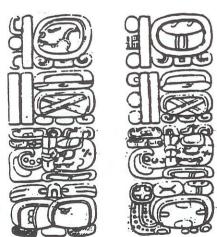


Fig. 123



Fig. 124

These are Maudslay's drawings that identify who these guys are. The LC is 9.11.9.10.12 for the first text (left) and 9.11.9.10.13 for the second text (right). These are just before that Pia Ahaw died. The event is Nawah and Vicky Bricker is the one who found the proper entry for this verb. It means "to decorate and to paint a person." She proposed that at Piedras Negras it is associated with ethnographic materials she found from Tozzer's description of the Lacandon marraige ceremonies that it is the dressing and the decoration of the bride. The nawah means "decorating, dressing, or preparing people for certain costumes" used in rituals. If you nawah a young woman who is going to become a wife, you nawah in one way. If you nawah a captive, you do something else. The following glyph reads ya ha li or yahal which means "the conquered one of." That means that this individual is being dressed "nawah" as the yahal "the conquered one of the holy lord of Palenque.



Nawah

Yahal

Palenque EG

Nawah

Yahal

Mah Chak te

Palengue House A Captives

Fig. 125

Now that is not telling us which holy lord of Palenque, but given the context and the given style of dating from the position of the date recorded, I am real sure that this is Pakal. These guys then, are nawahed as yahals. We have no idea where these people are from, but I'd be willing to bet you that these are some of the Pia Ahaws that Pakal took and they are in this courtyard because this is the courtyard

where all those victories are celebrated. This is also the spot where Pakal deters not only the visit of the lord of Tikal, but the vengeance for what was almost 30 years of bad treatment by unruly neighbors.

BREAK 10:20-10:45 A.M.

#### HANAB-PAKAL II'S DEATH

(Peter Mathews) On to more serious stuff now. Linda does all the neat stuff and leaves me with the mopping up to do. I'm going to cover the death of Hanab Pakal II. Linda and I were talking during the break about how in the early 70's we were saying that this ruler at Palenque ruled for a very long time (about 68 years). His reign was very prosperous and peaceful and it was his reign that got Palenque going on. Well it's now quite clear to us all that he was scratching and clawing his way the whole time in his reign. Anyway at about the age 80, he "entered the road" as the Maya would say and we have several texts that talk about this again all of them tied very much into a LC. One of them is on the West Panel of the Temple of the Inscriptions (Fig. 126).

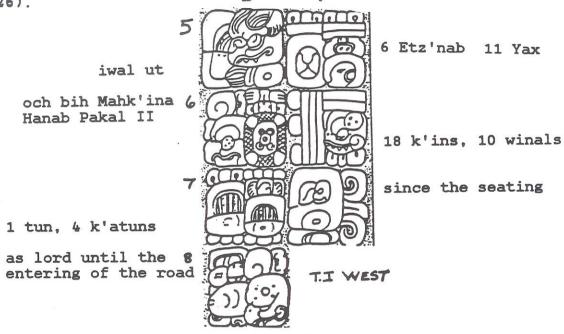


Fig. 126

Following a DN we have "and then it happened" (S5) 6 Etznab 11 Yax (T5) or 9.12.11.5.18 in the LC and the verb reads och bih Mak'ina Hanab Pakal (S6) or "he entered the road, Mak'ina Hanab Pakal." That then, is the end of that statement. Then one of the slight kinks in all of this was this following DN which was very difficult for Linda and me to work this out back in 1973 and establish the length of his reign and the age of this ruler at death. The DN has 18 k'ins, 10 winals (T6), 1 tun, and 4 k'atuns (S7) and if you subtract that from 9.12.11.5.18 you will arrive at 9.8.9.13.0 which is the birth date of Pakal. Linda and I then, took this as a very important record of the age at death of Pakal and indeed that is what it is, but the only slight problem is that it says here "it was since the seating" (T7) "as lord until the entering of the road" (S8). In other words, this DN is specified as between the accession and the death, rather than between the birth and the death. Remember, that we have both of these dates tied in absolutely to the LC where they can not be juggled unless you move hundreds of thousands of years. The only problem then is this DN which is recorded only once with a slight problem recorded with the "seating glyph."

Okay, we also get the death date recorded on the Palace Tablet (Fig.127), a tablet inscribed by his second son in the succession. We

begin with a DN going forward from the preceding date in the tablet "and then it happened" (I4) 6 Etznab (J4) 11 Yax (I5) followed by the verb that is the metaphor for death (J5). It reads ch'ay which means "to diminish or to become extinguished" and this is u sak nik nal "the white flower" (I6). We then get the 4 K'atun (J6) Chakte title (I7) followed by Mak'ina (J7) Hanab (I8) Pakal (J8) "he of 5 pyramids or structures" (I9).

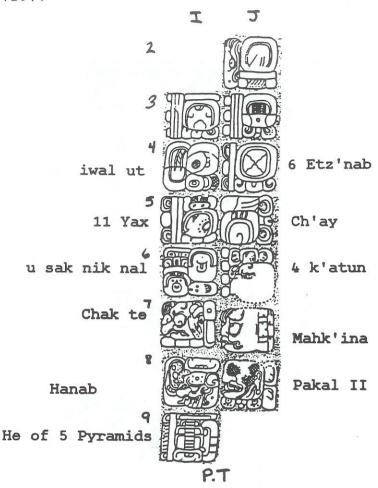


Fig. 127

Then on the sarcophagus lid text (Fig. 128) we have 8 Ahaw (#1) 13 Pohp (#2) birth date for Pakal (#3) and then on the day 6 Etznab (#4) 11 Yax (#5), which is the death date, followed by a glyph that records his 4 tun-seatings (#6) iwal och bih "and then he entered the road" (#7) K'ina Hanab Pakal (#8) the holy lord of lords (#9).



















Waxak Ahwal Uxlahun K'anhalaw sih-hi

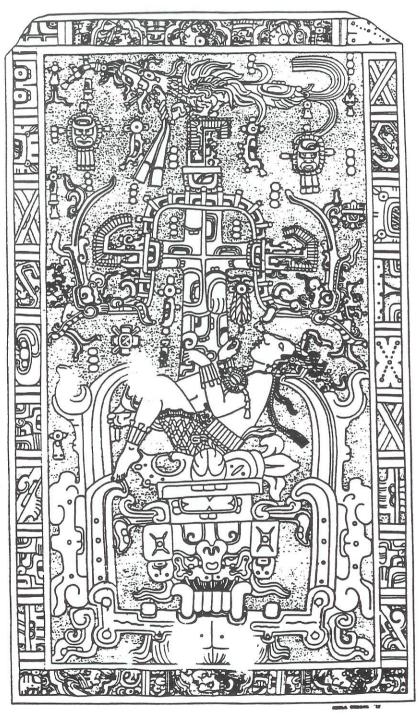
chum-tun 4 (were) his tun-seatings

K'ina Hanab-Pakal

### Palenque Tomb Sarco

Fig. 128

That then was the deat of Pakal. Here he is on the top of this beautiful monument that Merie Greene Robertson drew and photographed so beautifully (Fig.129). This is the image of this particular event as Pakal is falling into the Underworld. This is the actual moment that Pakal enters the road.



Palenque Tomb Lid

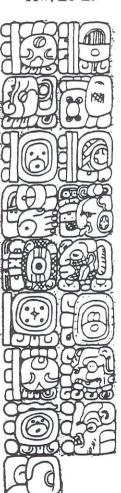
Fig. 129

### Hanab-Pakal II

The first passage from the House C Heiroglyphic Stairs records the birth of Hanab-Pakal in a long count form as 9.8.9.13.0 8 Ahaw 13 Pop (March 26, 603). When a date is recorded in this format, there can be no dispute over where it fell in Maya history. But in addition, this initial series date is tied by a distance number to 5 Lamat 1 Mol, which fell on 9.9.2.4.8 or July 29, 615. Although the cr is eroded in this passage, the distance number is clear. The accession phrase says that the Jester God headband was displayed for him, an event that seems to be displayed on the Oval Palace Tablet. His mother, Lady Sak-K'uk', is the person displaying the headdress for him there.

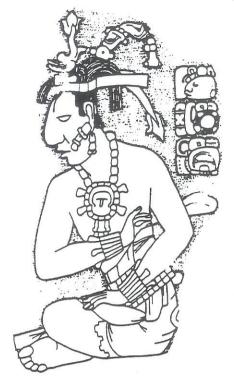


TIw, E1-E9



On the west panel of the Temple of Inscriptions, Pakal's birth is linked by distance number to his accession, which is then linked to the end of k'atun 9. Since the k'atun is named by its calendar round date, both Pakal's birth and his accession are tied into a cycle with a minimum repetition of 19,000 years. The dn between his birth and his accession is written 12.3.8, instead of 12.9.8 as required by the dates. We once thought the three might be three threes for nine, but we have checked the stone carefully and there is no evidence of anything other than three dots.

House C Stairs

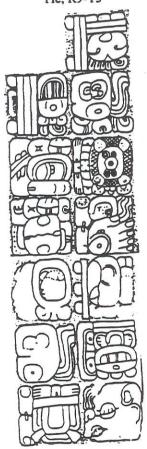




The Tablet of the Slaves begins with the cr of his accession, 5 Lamat 1 Mol, followed by an accession verb we suspect reads ahawyan, and his name.

This portrait of Pakal from the Oval Palace Tablet shows him at his accession. We suspect the first glyph reads Ah Huntan, "He the Cherished One," while the second one names him K'ina Ha-nab Pakal.

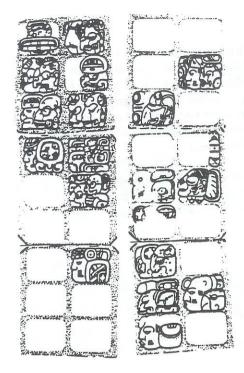
Tle, R9-T3



A passage from the east panel ties Pakal's seating in ahawship to "1 Ahaw 8 K'ayab, a tun-seating, the 10th k'atun, half of a bak'tun." This is, of course, 9.10.0.0.0.

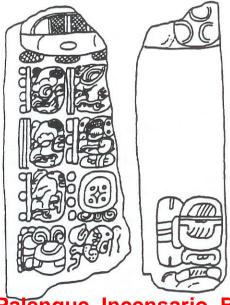
The Palace Tablet names the 5 Lamat 1 Mol date of accession and ties it by a dn of 4.8.2.0 to the accession of K'an-Hok'-Chitam, his second son. Here accession is described as the displaying of the white bark headband for him.





The earliest event after Pakal's accession that survives in the epigraphic record occurs in the inscription from the Temple Olvidado. The date, 9.10.14.5.1 3 Ok 3 Pop (Mar. 5, 647), does not correspond to a known astronomical phonomena nor does the verb in the inscription survive. We can't tell what the event was, but its actor was Hanab-Pakal, whose parentage from Lady Sak-K'uk' and K'an-Mo'-Balam is clearly stated. Although we don't know the event, one of its components records Pakal as the first of the K'in-bat title.

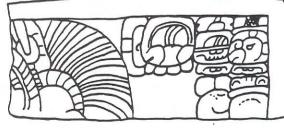
The period before this date is rarely mentioned in Pakal's inscriptions, perhaps because none of the inscriptions from that period have been found. We can surmise that there was activity from other references. Pakal married Lady Tz'ak-Ahaw on 9.9.13.0.17 7 Kaban 15 Pop (Mar. 22, 626); his first son Kan-Balam was born on 9.10.2.6.6. 2 Kimi 19 Sotz' (May 23, 635); he declared that son to be the heir on 9.10.8.9.3 9 Ak'bal 6 Xul (June 17, 641). His second son was born on 9.10.11.17.0 11 Ahaw 8 Mak (Nov. 5, 644). The inscriptions of Tortuguero, a subsidiary site within the Palenque polity, also have a large number of events falling between 9.10.11.3.10, the accession of Balam-Ahaw (a Tortuguero Lord), and the k'atun ending. The events very probably involved Pakal and the forces of the capital.



#### **Subordinates**

A number of hitherto unremarked subordinates show up in fragementary texts dated around the 9.11.0.0.0 date. To the right is a flange fragment that Peter thinks may come from a stone inscensario from the TC. The date 9.10.15.6.8 4 Lamat 16 Pop (Mar. 17, 648) is the earliest date in a chronological sequence that culminates at 9.12.10.0.0 (if this fragments comes from the TC inscensario). The inscription on the side of the flange names someone called Chak-Chan. This same name shows up on a frgment found in the Aquaduct, where Chak-Chan follows a yitah, "sibling" or "companion," glyph. On this fragment and on the ends of the sarcophagus, Chak-Chan is named an Ah K'un or Ah Ch'ul Na. This is a title Houston has identified in his book on Dos Pilas as some kind of court official. Interesting to us is the entry in sixteenth century Tzotzil that lists Ah Ch'ul Na as an architect. Perhaps Chak-Chan and two other subsidiaries got a place on the sarcophagus because they were its artists and architects.







Palenque Temple 04 Blocks

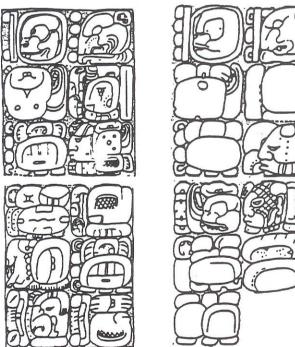


The next event and the most oft repeated in his lifetime was the end of the 11th k'atun. Floyd Lounsbury first showed that the record of this k'atun ending on the middle panel of the Temple of Inscriptions records that this date 9.11.0.0.0 12 Ahaw 8 Keh (Oct. 14, 652) corresponded to the heliacal rising of Venus as Eveningstar. Exactly that action is recorded on the text below. It is part of the text inscribed on a bench in the south end of the Palace. This text may also refer to the dedication of a house, perhaps the subterranean chambers on the lower south end.

On the Palace Tablet (to the right), the text records that he scattered drops for the period ending, and although we haven't included the texts, the middle panel of the Temple of Inscriptions records the display of the helmets and other regalia of the three gods of the Palenque Triad.



Pal. Tab.



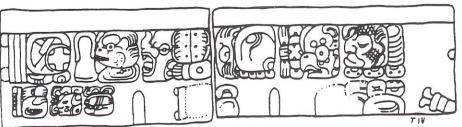
#### **Another Subordinate**

These two passages come from the Tableritos, which were found in the subterranean corridors of the Palace. The first has the date 9.11.1.12.6 7 Kimi 4 Xul (June 12, 654). The event is lah, "to end" in Yukatek, and in Tzotzil "to die, to devastate in war." The thing that ended is not yet deciphered, but it was a thing owned by Hanab-Pakal. The second part of the phrase says u k'al." K'al is a difficult term. It means "20," an "opening" (Chorti), "to enclose, to arm traps, to imprison the feet or arms." We don't know which is meant here. It is followed by yeteh, "by the work of," and the name "2 k'atun Ah Ch'ul-na, Ah Sul." This same person, Ah Sul, shows up on one of two fragments that were reset in the North Group. We don't know who this man was, but like Chak-Chan, he appears to have been very important in Pakal's early reign.

The second passage from the Tabletitos records an undeciphered event that occurred on 9.11.1.12.8 9 Lamat 6 Xul, the 13th haab anniversary of Kan-Balam's heir-designation. Although the event is not readable it appears

to have happened to the *u k'al* of Hanab Pakal.

PAL Tableritos A PAL Tableritos C



Palenque Temple 04 Blocks



This passage from the Tablet of the 96 Glyphs records the dedication of the Sak-Nuk-Na, "White Big House," by furnigating it with smoke. The Sak-Nuk-Na was ta yotot, "in the house of" Pakal. The date was 9.11.2.1.11 9 Chuwen 9 Mak (Nov. 4, 654). The Sak-Nuk-Na is House E, the white painted house that has painted flowers aligned in columns on its outer west wall. Steve Houston pointed out to us that a nikte'il na is glossed in Yukatek as a "house where people gather," and that it is equivalent to a Popil Na, a council house where dancing is taught and conducted. House E has Pakal's accession tablet mounted in its center wall and iconography that identifies it as a place where the kings communicated with the Otherworld. It remains the pivotal house in the Palace and was used as the place of accession for K'an-Hok'-Chitam, Akul-Ah Nab III, and K'ek'-Balam II.



This passage from the Dumbarton Oaks Tablet records another building dedication, this time of a waybil, "sleeping place." We think this was not a bedroom, however. Today the K'iche' called their lineage shrines waribal, "sleeping place," because that is where the ancestors sleep. Will Andrews has found just such an ancestral shrine south of the Acropolis in Copan. We don't know where this ancestral shrine was located, but its identification seems to be confirmed because the second passage recordsthe "stepping on the base of a mountain" by the "replacement" of K'an-Hok'-Chitam I.



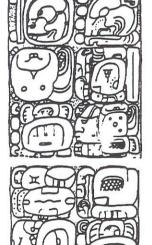
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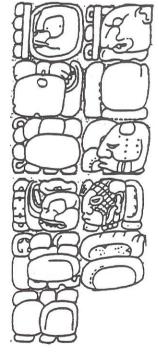
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Bench at south end of the Palace





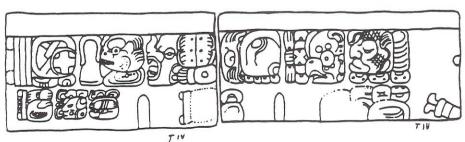


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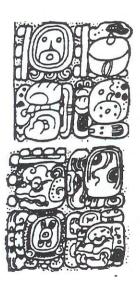
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to have happened to the *u k'al* of Hanab Pakal.

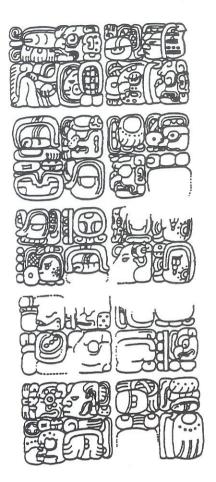




This passage from the Tanet of 100 Glyp's records the dedication of the Sak-Nuk-Na, "White Big House," by furnigating it with smoke. The Sak-Nuk-Na was ta yotot, "in the house of Pakal. The date was 9.11.2.1.11 9 Chuwen 9 Mak (Nov. 4, 654). The Sak-Nuk-Na is House E, the white painted house that has painted flowers aligned in columns on its outer west wall. Steve Houston pointed out to us that a nikte'il na is glossed in Yukatek as a "house where people gather," and that it is equivalent to a Popil Na, a council house where dancing is taught and conducted. House E has Pakal's accession tablet mounted in its center wall and iconography that identifies it as a place where the kings communicated with the Otherworld. It remains the pivotal house in the Palace and was used as the place of accession for K'an-Hok'-Chitam, Akul-Ah Nab III, and K'ek'-Balam II.



This passage from the Dumbarton Oaks Tablet records another building dedication, this time of a waybil, "sleeping place." We think this was not a bedroom, however. Today the K'iche' called their lineage shrines waribal, "sleeping place," because that is where the ancestors sleep. Will Andrews has found just such an ancestral shrine south of the Acropolis in Copan. We don't know where this ancestral shrine was located, but its identification seems to be confirmed because the second passage recordsthe "stepping on the base of a mountain" by the "replacement" of K'an-Hok'-Chitam I.



This passage from the House C Hieroglyphic Stairs has proven to be one of the most difficult passages in all the inscriptions of Palenque. It begins with a phrase evoking the Palenque Triad with the verb yaleh, "they said it" or they hurled it. The next verb has not been deciphered, the glyph that follows it has the Palenque moon formula in a number tree. The mini-conference group discovered there was a 70% umbral lunar eclipse with its maximum at 00:32 A.M. on August 11, 659. The date of this event is 9.11.6.1.6.11 7 Chuwen 4 Ch'en or August 10, 659. The eclipse began about 10 P.M. and reached it maximum just after midnight.

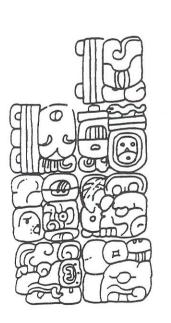
The actor mentions a Nu-Balam-Te-Chak, a name almost identical to the guardian jaguar on Tikal Temple 1 Lintel 3. The being, whether human or nawal, is said to be the "sibling" or the "companion" of Shield-Jaguar of Yaxchilan. Shield-Jaguar would have been about 10 years old at the time. The next passage has u bak, "his captive," and a name that is identical to that of Shield-Skull of Tikal, the father of Ruler A.

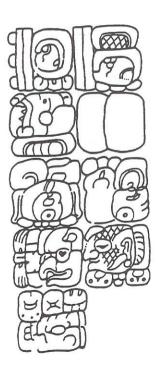
Then the capture verb is reiterated, the date is given, and *yitah*, "was siblinged" or "were companioned." The names of four of the six captives on the east substructure of House C are named. These were very likely captives sacrificed by Pakal for the dedication of House C, the event recorded at the end of the text.

The same Tikal-related name appears with a date six days later—9.11.6.16.17 13 Kaban 10 Ch'en (Aug. 16, 659). Here the date is connected to the k'atun-ending 9.11.0.0.0 so there is no doubt of its placement in the

long count. The verb has been read by Nikolai Grube as *iwal hul*, "and then he arrived." The event is repeated with the calendar round notation, and this time the text records that this person (whose name is eroded) arrived "in the company" of Hanab-Pakal.

The name in this passage is accompanied by an emblem glyph. Schele checked the original stone in January to see if it might possibly bea Tikal emblem glyph. Unfortunately it is not. Clearly it is some sort of bird head. But perhaps all is not lost. David Stuart sent us a letter in January suggesting that the Tikal eg read mut based on phonetic complements that appear with it. He interpreted this mut following the Yukatek entry mut pol, "redote hacer la mujer de sus cabellos." Perhaps the Cholan speakers at Palenque rendered this as mut, "bird." Perhaps the best support for the identification of this visitor as the ruler of Tikal is that Shield-Skull's flint-shield of war was thrown down exactly one k'atun after this date-on 9.12.6.16.17. We suggest that this was not a coincidence and that perhaps Shield-Skull came looking for allies against the many enemies that surrounded his city.









This captive from the substructure of House C is a Pia or a Pipia Ahaw. As many different epigraphers have recognized, Pia is recorded in the texts of Pomona as a location. We suspect that Pia was targeted by Pakal in vengeance for the earlier raid he recorded in the east panel of the Temple of Inscriptions. Pakal was seven years old at the time of the first raid.

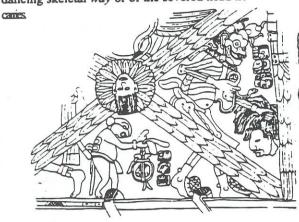
Interestingly, another prominent Pia Ahaw has shown up at Tonina as either the name of a dancing skeletal way or of the severed head he



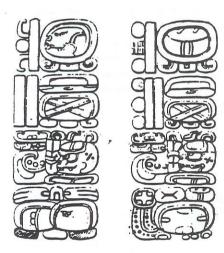




The next event was written on the underside of the eaves of House C and it records another kind of dedication ritual. The date was 9.11.9.5.19 4 Kawak 2 Pax (Dec. 25, 661).







These two texts are carved on the loincloths of the captives that flank the stairs of House D. They sit across the court from the Pia captive above and his companion. Merle and many other people have observed that these captive figures were very likely moved from another location because they do not fit the space where they sit. We concur with this judgement. The two inscriptions record successive days 9.11.9.10.12 6 Eb 10 Wo and 7 Ben 11 Wo (Mar. 28 and 29, 662). Both texts have the same verb and subject-nawah yahal, "was adorned, the conquered one of." On the left is the Ma Chak Te' war title that appears as the main title of the king at Tikal. It also occurs with the west glyph at many different sites. At Palenque, it occurs in Pakal's name on the Palace Tablet and on these stairs. The other text names

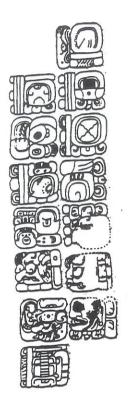
Another Pia Ahaw shows up in the last panel on the west substructure of House A. The date is 9.11.10.16.7 13 Manik end of Mol (Jul. 16, 663). This Pia lord "entered the road" on this day, but it is not clear whether it was by natural means or sacrifice.



intended in both texts.

the owner of the captive only as the "Holy Palenque Lord." We presume Pakal was

The next major event in Pakal's life was the celebration of the end of k'atun 12. The middle panel of the Temple of Inscriptions records a ceremony involving the accounterments—that is, the headwrap, the helmet, the earflares, the necklace, the headband—of each of the three gods of the Palenque Triad. He was sixty-nine at the time of that ceremony. Shortly thereafter on 9.12.0.6.18 5 Etznab 6 K'ank'in (Nov. 16, 672), his wife, Lady Tz'ak-Ahaw, died. Ceremony. Shortly thereafter on 9.12.0.6.18 5 Etznab 6 K'ank'in (Nov. 16, 675). One last event occurred on 9.12.11.4.10 4 Ok 3 Ch'en (August 3, 683) occurred shortly before he died. He may have gotten sick on that day.



Pakal's death is recorded in several places, but the most important for the question of the chronology of his life comes from the Palace Tablet. the previouse clause records an event that occurred on the period-ending 9.11.13.0.0. The cr is given and the number of k'atuns that ended. The combination of a calendar round and the specification of the number of tuns that ended locks the date into a cycle of 375,000 years (see Thompson's Maya Hieroglychs: An Introduction, p. 184). The distance number at the beginning of this passage locks the previous pe to 6 Etz'nab 11 Yax, 9.12.11.5.18 (August 31, 683). The event is written as ch'ayi u sak niknal, "died, the white-flower soul of" Pakal.



This phrase occurs on the west panel of the Temple of Inscriptions. Again it records the date 6 Etz'nab 11 Yax, this time with the phrase och bih. "he entered the road." David Stuart first made the reading that led to this interpretation. The 1992 workshop provided evidence that the road which the dead king entered was the Milky Way when it was in the north-south orientation that the Maya thought of as the World Tree. Then we have a dn corresponding to Pakal's age at his death, 4.1.10.18. The last phrase is a bit confusing because it reads chumeli ta ahawle och bit, "was seated in reign entered the road." The two events should be birth and death, but they wrote seating and death.

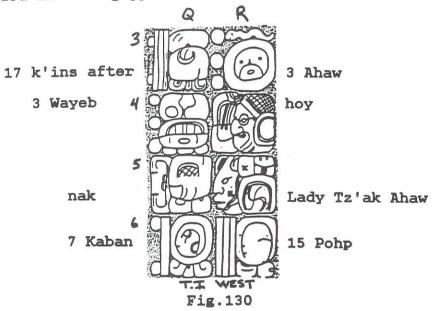
The sarcophagus lid records the cr of his birth, then "he was born," the cr of his death, and "four [were] his tunseatings." Floyd first showed that this chum-tun expression marks k'atun endings only so that the reference is to 9.9, 9.10, 9.11, 9.12, the four k'atun endings of Pakal's life. Then, we have iwal och bih, the expression that Matt Looper first recognized as an exact description of the image on the sarcophagus top.



#### LADY TZ'AK-AHAW

We are now going to move on to another character in this great play at Palenque. This is the wife of Pakal and she is mentioned both in parentage references in her childrens' name phrase, but she is also given some space in Pakal's own inscriptions in two passages on the third panel of the Temple of the Inscriptions. One of them records her probable marriage to Pakal and the other records her death.

In this passage from the west panel of the Temple of the Inscriptions (Fig.130) we have hoy (R4) and this is na ka or nak (Q5) which means "to bring close." This may be a reference suggested by Floyd that means that this person who we will see named in a second came up close to her husband and was united in marriage. The calendrical structure of this passage says that it was 17 k'ins after (Q3) 3 Ahaw (R3) 3 Wayeb (Q4). The iwal in R4 refers to the later date here of 7 Kaban (Q6) 15 Pohp (R6) and that date is 9.9.13.0.17. Her name is recorded in this glyph here (R5) and it reads Na Tz'ak-Ahaw.



We also get a reference in the next passage of the Temple of the Inscription that starts with a DN (Fig. 131) of 1 k'in, 6 winals (Q7), 7 tuns (R7), and 2 k'atuns (Q8) since she was seated (R8) ta hoyih or "as companion" (Q9) iwal ch'ay "and then was diminished" (R9) u sak nik nal "her white flower" (Q10). It was 2.7.6.1 since she was seated as the companion of Pakal until her white flower diminished and I suspect this is why have the seating compound erroneously referred to in the passage by Pakal. They may have had this linking still in mind when they were recording that event because this is the DN between her accession, in this title, and her death. We then get the name of Lady Tz'ak Ahaw (R10) and then we get the death date. On 5 Etznab 6 K'ank'in (Q11) or 9.12.0.6.18 which is about 11 years before Pakal hinself died. We then get a DN of 2 k'ins, 11 winals (R11), and 9 tuns since she entered the road (Q12) is the expression recorded there. absolutely that these two events (R9 and Q12) are the same event because chronologically they have to refer to this particular date 9.12.0.6.18.

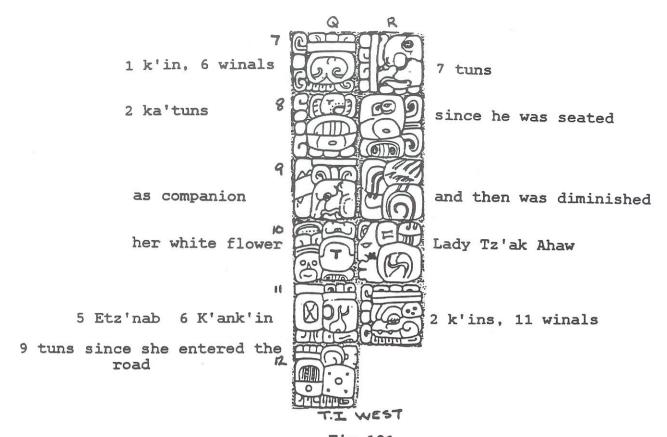


Fig. 131

This is a parentage passage from the Palace Tablet (Fig.132). The final two glyphs in this passage record her name as Ch'ok (C17) Tok Tan Winik (D17) or she was a "Sprout, Cloudy-Center Person" which is a reference to that location that we talked about with the early kings of Palenque. Here is a portrait of Lady Tz'ak-Ahaw (Fig.133).

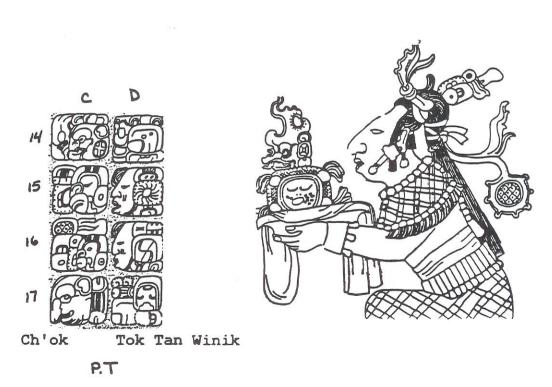


Fig. 132

Fig. 133

# Lady Tz'ak-Ahaw



The marriage and death of Pakal's wife are recorded on the west panel of the Temple of the Inscriptions. Her marriage is recorded as iwal hoy nak'wa. Hoy is the verb used in dedication phrase meaning to make proper." In Tzeltal hoy also means "to bring close" and "companion." Nak' means "to bring close." In one of our mini-conferences, Floyd Lounsbury suggested this phrase describes the event as Lady Tz'ak-Ahaw coming close to her new husband.

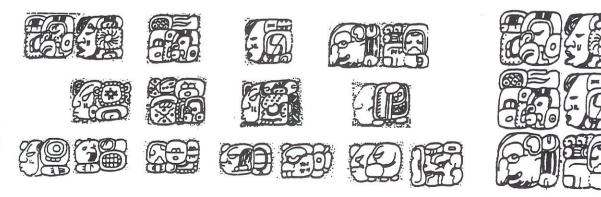
The date is 9.9.13.0.17 7 Kaban 15 Pop (Mar. 22, 626).



The repetition of her marriage event characterizes its as *chumili ta hoyih*, "was seated as companion." Terry Kaufman told us several years ago that this *hoy*, "companion," is used by Tzeltals to refer to their wives. Phonetic complements on the T1001 title for women support a reading of *hoy ch'ul na*, "companion holy woman," for that title as well. The king's wife was known as his "companion" and the one who was close to him.

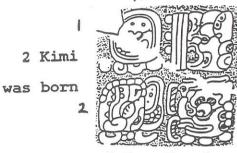
Her marriage is connected to her birth in the second part of the passage with death recorded as *iwal ch'ay u sak niknal*, "died her white-flower," in the first repetition, and as *och bih*, "entered the road," in the second. This substitution of the "ch'ay" expression for the *och bih* allowed Floyd to discern that the two phrases are metaphorical substitutions for each other and refer to the same event.

This is Lady Tz'ak-Ahaw's name from the Palace Tablet. The first three glyphs are a rare title sequence that also occurs twice with Lady Chak-Kimi's name at Yaxchilan. The final two glyphs of the name sequence are *ch'ok* and toktan winik, "sprout, Cloudy-center person." It describes her as a sprout of her lineage—in other words, she was not the head of the lineage. She was also a person of the same barrio as the founder.



#### KAN-BALAM II

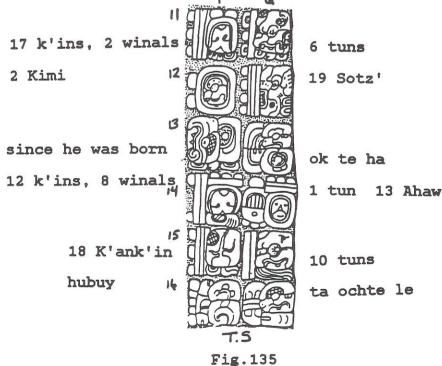
We are now going to move on to the next ruler. His name is Kan-Balam II and he was a very important king who was responsible for the Cross Group at Palenque. With all of those monuments then, we have plenty of texts that talk about the various events of his life. The earliest of these dates is recorded on a couple of monuments. One, a fairly recently discovered monument at Emiliano Zapata where it was found looted someplace from Palenque (Fig.134). It records the date 2 Kimi (A1) 19 Sotz' (B1) and then we get he was born (A2) Kan-Balam (B2).



19 Sotz' Kan Balam II

Emiliano Zapata Fig. 134

In this inscription more securely tied to Palenque (Fig.135) found on the Tablet of the Sun we have the date 2 Kimi (P12) 19 Sotz' (Q12) since he was born (P13). Now this birth is linked to an event when he was 6 years old because the DN up at the top of the passage is 17 k'ins, 2 winals (P11) and 6 tuns (Q11) and that is counted forward from the birth. Then we have "and then" something else happened (Q13). This is a very simple statement. We do not get the name of the protagonist at all named here just that this happened Ok Te Ha meaning "he entered something." We then get a complete break in the passage that includes a DN of 12 k'ins, 8 winals (P14), and 1 tun until the day 13 Ahaw (Q14) 18 K'ank'in (P15) 10 tuns (Q15) hu bu yi (P16) ta och te le (Q16).



113

I am now going to give you the dates for these events. We have 13 Ahaw 18 K'ank'in and it was 10 tuns, so that is the day 9.10.10.0.0. We have a DN here of 1.8.12 and if we subtract that we will arrive at 9.10.8.9.8 which is the other event that is being talked about. This date here (2 Kimi 10 Sotz') works out to be 9.10.2.6.6 and that is the birth date. Now if we add 6.2.17 to the birth date we will arrive at the day 9.10.8.9.3 which was the event that had a duration of 5 days. One of these dates is counted from the end of the event and the other one is counted from the beginning of the event. This series of passages refers to the heir designation of Kan-Balam. He is a young 6 year old boy. Pakal is in the midst of his consolidation of his realm and Kan-Balam is later claiming that Pakal at this date annointed his 6 year old son as the next and future king of Palenque.

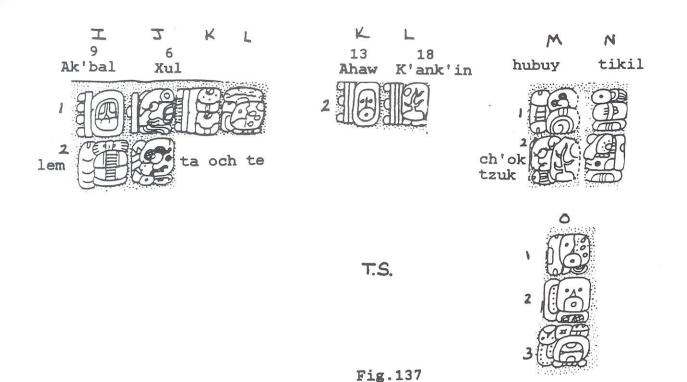
One of the key glyphs in this secondary passage from the Tablet of the Foliated Cross (Fig.136) is this one here at L3 that reads ba ch'ok which means the "first sprout." This confirms Kan-Balam II as the

future heir.

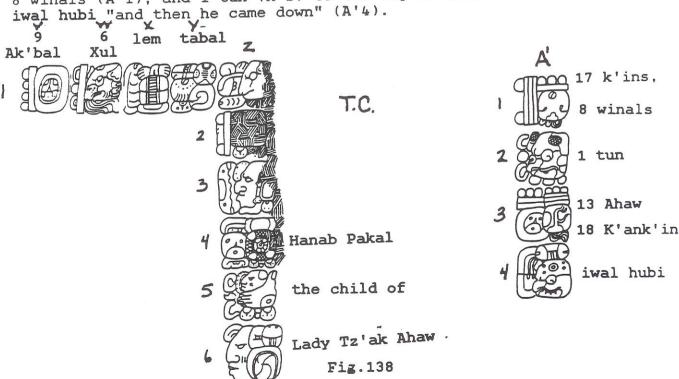


Fig. 136

We will now see the earlier of those two dates recorded here as a CR date (Fig.137) on the Tablet of the Sun. The CR date is 9 Ak'bal (I1) 6 Xul (J1) followed by the titles of Kan-Balam. Here is one that reads Ta Och Te or "entering into this office" (J2). The glyph at I2 reads le ma or lem and that means "to enter something to do something" and so I think that Kan-Balam is being taken up into the pyramid and explained or displayed his role. (Linda Schele) The second event here is the day 13 Ahaw (K2) 18 K'ank'in (L2) and that events reads hubuy (M1) which means "to come down" and the next glyph there reads ti ki li or Tikil and in Chol that is a word for "person." The following glyph reads ch'ok tzuk (M2) and it seems that Kan-Balam came down as the person who was the young person who controlled the partitions of the kingdom.



Here is another example of that same statement from the Tablet of the Cross (Fig.138). Here we get the lem and the pyramid (X1) and then ta ba la and a picture of the back of a person's testicles and the glyph under it is probably ah ho, however Nikolai is reading the testicle sign as bo. I do not know what that would mean, but I looked up Tabal and that is listed as a "corporate group."It is like a lineage group or a group of people that are together because it's either an occupation or kinship. It's as if when he is introduced from the pyramid, he is introduced into a particular corporate group within the city that he will participate in. So here we have the day 9 Ak'bal 6 Xul, the pyramiding, then you get all of his names through here (Z1-Z4) and then his parentage. Here is his father Hanab-Pakal (Z4) and the child of the (Z5) Lady Tz'ak Ahaw (Z6). We then have a DN of 17 k'ins, 8 winals (A'1), and 1 tun (A'2) to the day 13 Ahaw 18 K'ank'in (A'3) iwal hubi "and then he came down" (A'4).



Now if you think of the Bonampak murals, which are also an heir designation, those events take place at least over several years. So I believe that we have a series of events that involve this child that culminate on that PE. (Peter Mathews)

We are now going to be dealing with Kan-Balam II's accession date. It is recorded several times in the Palenque inscriptions. One of them is at the very end of the west panel of the Tablet of the Inscriptions. Since this final part of this tablet is recorded in double glyph blocks, I believe that Pakal left this area blank so that he could have his death date and other things mentioned, perhaps his funeral ceremonies, put in on this tablet. I think that the son (Kan-Balam) got himself inserted in there as well. He sort of pushed in all of his father's references and then ended the passage with his own accession statement and that is what we have here (Fig. 139). We begin with the day 8 Ok 3 K'ayab (T8) and on that day the white headband was offered (S9) for him (T9) Mak'ina Kan-Balam (S10) the holy lord of Palenque (T10). The next glyph reads ya k'a wa or yak'wa which means "he gave it" and it's the glyph that is used for offerings on the PE's all the way through these tablets. The next glyph reads huntan and that means "caring" so this phrase states that he either "gave caring to." The thing that he gives caring to is the Bolon Te' Na (T11) U Ch'ul K'aba U Kimil (S12) Mah K'ina Hanab-Pakal, the Ch'ul Bak Ahaw (T12). In other words, "he gave caring to the Nine Tree Structure (was) its holy name, the death place of the Great Sun Flower-Shield, Holy Palenque Lord." (Nikolai states here that the glyph at S12 reads u muk nal and it is the word for "tomb." That would mean that the Bolon Te' Na may be a reference to the actual tomb not the Temple of the Inscriptions itself)

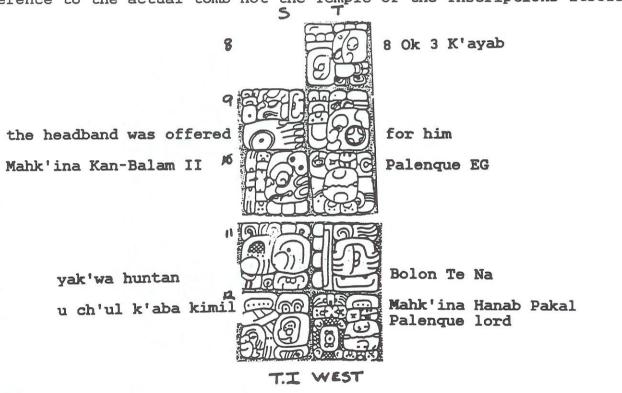


Fig. 139

The thing that is critical here is that this act had to have been on the day of his accession. This then, tells us that not only was the white headband offered for him, but he came here and did some special rites at this temple that had to do with huntan or care of this tomb.

I don't think that this was when the tomb was sealed, but I think that there was some special ceremony concerning the tomb. There was a box with dismembered captives outside the door of this tomb and it may have been the day in which he sacrificed these people and sealed the door to the tomb and began the process of the sealing of the entire stairway to the tomb. This accession was on 9.12.11.12.10 8 Ok 3 K'ayab and Pakal died on 9.12.11.5.18. Pakal died then about 120 days before this event.

Here is that DN recorded on the Palace Tablet (Fig.140) as 12 k'ins, and 6 winals later (J9) after an event that must refer to the death of Pakal here at (I10 J10). it seems to deal with the untying or the releasing of headband which is named here as a metaphor for the end of Pakal's reign. Then we get the date that is reached by that DN recorded as 8 Ok (K1) 3 K'ayab (L1) and that is the accession date of Kan-Balam. We then get an accession glyph that probably reads Ahawyan meaning "was ahawed" (K2). Following that is a glyph that reads Suku Winik which means the "older brother person" (L2). This indicates that he is the oldest now in the generation of Pakal's sons. He is still a ch'ok (K3) Ah Pitzlawal or "He the Ballplayer" (L3) Mahk'ina (K4) Kan-Ch'ok (K3) Ah Pitzlawal or "He the Ballplayer" (L5) (this tells us Balam (L4) in his white headband (K5) the holy name (L5) (this tells us that this Mahk'ina Kan-Balam is his royal accession name) the holy lord of Palenque (K6) and another expression referring to K'atun Ballplayer (L6).

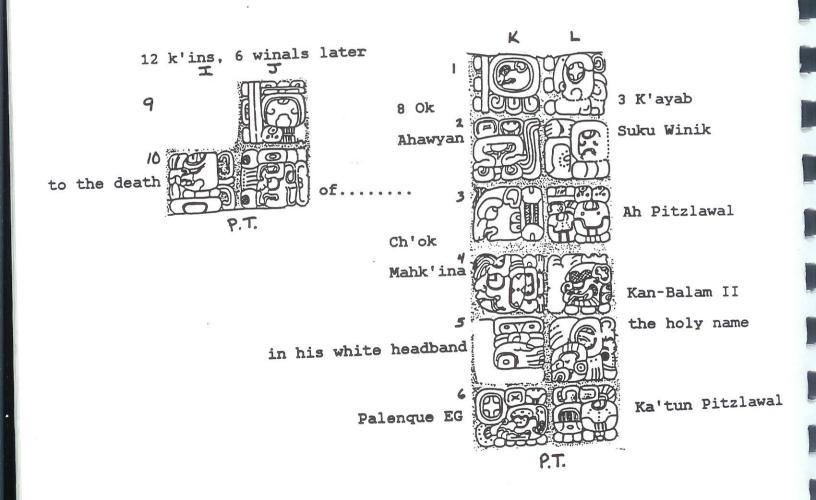


Fig. 140

On this passage from the Tablet of the Foliated Cross (Fig.141) we have this chronology reinforced as well as tying the birth to the accession. It begins with a DN of 4 k'ins, 6 winals (F17), 9 tuns (G1), and 2 k'atuns (H1) since he was born (G2) and then the headband was offered (H2) for him (G3) with Kan-Balam named here at (G4) the holy lord of Palenque (H4) and he is given the bak wayal title as well at H3. We then get the accession date that we just saw of 8 Ok (G5) 3 K'ayab (H5). In this case we do not get the birth date refered to specifically, but we get the DN now linking the birth and the accession. The accession was 9.12.11.12.10 and the DN is 2.9.6.4 and when you subtract that you will get 9.10.2.6.6 which was the DN we got on the birth dates that I've calculated. They were tied to the LC by other connections and this one is tied specifically to his accession and gives his age in this DN at accession. He had to wait until he was about 48 or 49 years old before Pakal died and he was able to take over as king. The next passage goes forward 6 k'ins, 11 winals (G6), and 6 tuns (H6) from the seating (G7) in the reign (H7). In other words, reinforcing that these two events go with the 8 Ok 3 K'ayab date. (Linda Schele)

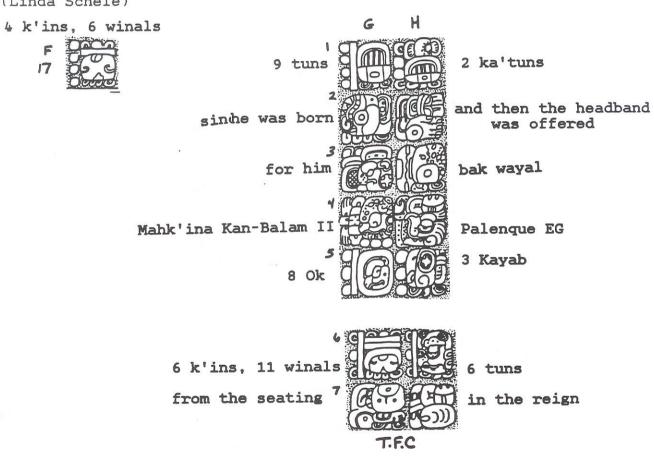
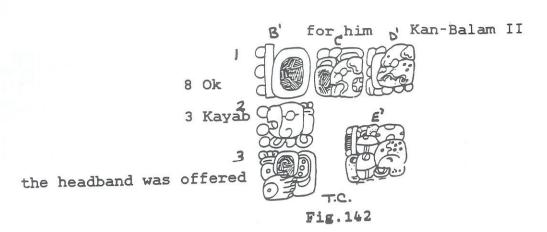
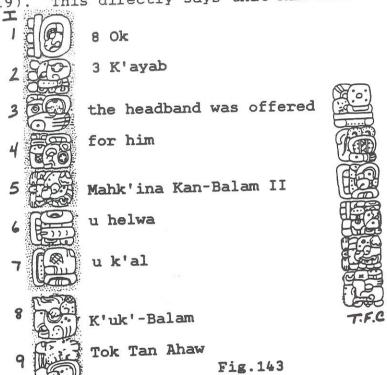


Fig. 141

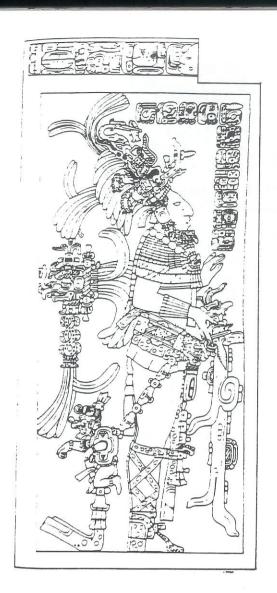
Here is another example of his accession from the secondary text on the Tablet of the Cross (Fig.142). Here is the 8 Ok (B'1) 3 K'ayab (B'2) and was offered the headband (B'3) for him (C'1) Kan-Balam (D'1).

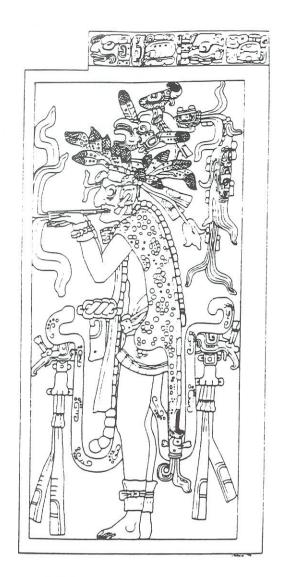


On this example from the Tablet of the Foliated Cross (Fig.143) we have the 8 Ok (I1) 3 K'ayab (I2) followed by the white headband was displayed (I3) for him (I4) Mak'ina Kan-Balam (I5). This is followed by u he le wa or u helwa "he succeeded him" (I6) u k'al meaning "door jamb or room" (I7), but this is the Founder K'uk-Balam (I8) the Tok' Tan Ahaw (I9). This directly says that Kan-Balam replaces the Founder.



Now there is one other way in which these accession events are talked about and that is when you move from the inside of the buildings to the outside another event is added on. These wall panels contain events that are written out for us to see (Fig. 144). The first one from the Temple of the Cross, begins with "on the 10th day" (A) an earlier event took place called yochte' (B) akul (C) which means "entering in to it, the seating" and then chi wa (D). We are not sure what that means, but the the person who the chi wa is done to is U K'ix-Chan (E) and it probably was a bloodletting event when U K'ix-Chan was brought out of the Otherworld. To my knowledge the first person who worked out this next part was Joe Orr when in the Advanced Seminar several years ago. He discovered that this event 10 days later hits the maximum elongation of Venus and that maximum elongation of Venus was one that was particularly important in the position of this in the constellation. This then means that we have a 10 day long accession rite which culminates on the maximum elongation of Venus as Morning







u lahun-tal



yochte' akui he entered seat'



iwal chi-wa U-K'ixand then he Chan accompanied him



Mah K'ina Bakle Way Ah Pitzlaw Kan-Balam Bone Nawal He, the Ballplayer







Mah K'ina Ch'ul Bak Pakal Ahaw

#### Fig. 144

This is from the Tablet of the Slaves (Fig.145) which begins with a DN of Ox "3" to with a glyph that we have read as the number 20 (A2). Floyd was the first one to realize that the to glyph referred to here is that between the accession of Pakal and the accession of Kan-Balam three k'atuns had ended (9.10.0.0.0, 9.11.0.0.0, and 9.12.0.0.0) and here's the u chum tun confirming that these are k'atun-endings. The second glyph here at B2 reads ta u chum tun which means that there were 3 k'atun seatings and he was seated on the throne Kan-Balam. It's a wonderful play on words between those two glyphs.



3 K'atuns were seated while he was on the throne, Kan-Balam II

Fig. 145

Now the next event that we have I will go over very quickly and without too much detail. This is the astronomical event that Floyd Lounsbury discovered that happened on the day 2 Kib 14 Mol (Fig.146). This event is repeated over and over again in the Group of the Cross. This event is repeated over and over again in the Group of the Cross. It happened on July 23, 690. What Floyd discovered was Jupiter and Saturn were in the midst of a triple conjunction and had been about 5 degree apart for about a year. What happened in the months before this was that Mars just kept moving in closer and closer to the other two planets. On the night the Maya chose was the night when the moon moved through the planetary conjunction and formed the fourth partner. The moon is the manifestation of First Mother and these are in fact the three gods of the Triad reunited and when their mother comes back with them at the base of the Milky Way or the Wakah Chan "World Tree" this is the astronomical event that stimulates the 2 Kib 14 Mol dedication.



Fig. 146

As you heard in Steve Houston's paper this event should be read from the Tablet of the Cross and from the Tablet of Foliated Cross (Fig. 147) as on the day 2 Kib (N4) 14 Mol (O4) or 9.12.18.5.16 followed by a glyph that reads pu lu yi or puluy which means "to start burning" (N5) and u waybil (O5). Now there are two proposals that are possible for this. Nikolai has proposed that this should be the way of the Triad referring to the planets and Steve proposed that this waybil is either a "resting place or sleeping place" and I would take this as one of the ancestral lineage houses. Steve then pointed out that this glyph which is the replacement for the u waybil on the Tablet of the Foliated Cross at F2 reads u chi ti ni li or u chitinil (in Yukatek Kitin with the Ki being the cognate of the Chi in Chol is the word for soot for making a dark pigment). Steve feels that these may be alternative words for the Pib Na which are the symbolic sweatbaths and I think that is probably correct that on this day the fire was started. The next glyph reads ox lot "the three born together" and this is the name of GIII of the Triad (06) and over here on the Tablet of the Foliated Cross we have ox lot (E3). This is probably u nen (F3) and these are the names of the members of the Triad (E4 F4).

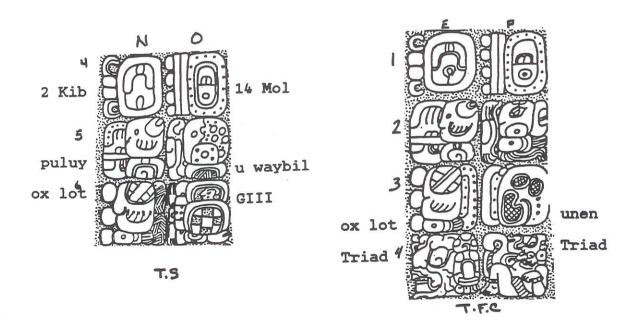


Fig. 147

On the Tablet of the Foliated Cross (Fig.148) we have a DN of 6 k'ins, 11 winals (G6), and 6 tuns (H6) after he was seated chum lahiya (G7) in reign (H7) and then was started puluy (G8) the u chitinil "soot" (H8) of the "three born together" (G9) GI (H9) GII (G10) G111 (H10) followed by Ek Way Chak (G11) God A' (H11) and Hun Ahaw (G12). There is a whole series of gods here and it may be that they are the various planets that were lined up in the sky. Finally, this is the event that Kan-Balam (G13) did here recorded at H12. We believe that this sign may be a hun followed by tan ha and that is verb for "to care for or cherish."

C 6 k'ins, 11 winals 6 tuns chum lahiya in reign u chitinil puluy of the 3 born together GI GIII GII God A' Ek Way Chak huntan Hun Ahaw 13 Mahk'ina Kan-Balam II

In the next passage on the Tablet of the Foliated Cross (left panel in figure) and on the Tablet of the Sun (right panel in the figure) (Fig.149 we begin with the glyph that tells us of a change u tz'akah (N7) and then on the day 3 Kaban (07) 15 Mol (N8) hoyi "something made proper" (08). The house dedications all over the Maya area today consists of moving through the four corners or the four directions and then come to the center and that is the hoy which can also mean "to circumambulate." In both cases the thing that is dedicated is the Mak'ina or K'ina (N9) K'uk Na (09) which means the "the Great Sun or Sun-Faced Quetzal House." Then it says that "it's the house of" ta yotot (N10). This may be one of these Pib Nas. It is perhaps a building that is inside the Temple of the Foliated Cross or encased inside of it. I think it is also the house where either the Founder's relics or the Founder's body is and it's in another house. It is in the house of the ch'ahom (010) the bak le (N11) way (011) of Mak'ina Kan-Balam (N12) the holy lord of Palenque (012).

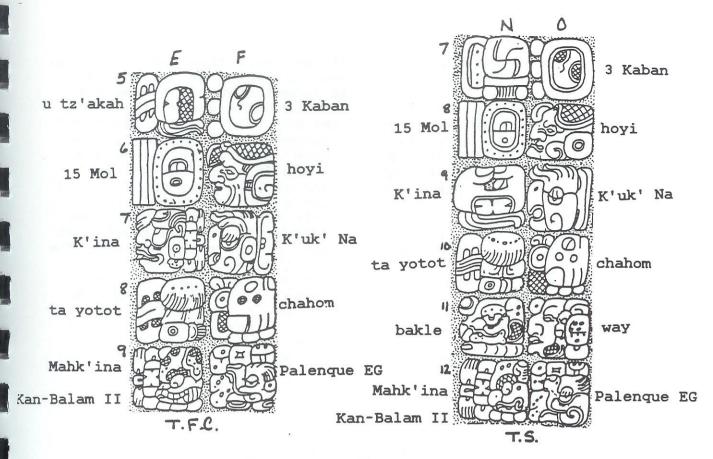


Fig. 149

Then the last part in this passage must be a DN (Fig. 150) of "on the 3rd day" (08) and in event that we have in each case is the conjuring event (09). It reads u tzak u k'ul or "he conjured the god" and following that we have the names of the gods who were conjured (010-012). This is Nu Yahaw Chan (010) Itz'at (011) and these are the names of the artists who created the images on the sky. Those are the Paddlers, Itz'am na and the Maize God. This means that he is calling forth the gods who erected the tree and who made the forms of the heavens on this day. Then you have a verb with the hand and the headdress again, so he is doing something here with the headdress (012) and then you have the name of the person whom does it or Kan-Balam (013).

on the 3rd day u tzak u k'ul Nu Yahaw Chan Itz'at the headdress was offered Mahk'ina Kan-Balam II 13 Fig. 150

Now we have two expressions that tell us where this happened (Fig. 151). The inscription on the left is from the Tablet of the Foliated Cross and the inscription on the right is from the Tablet of the Sun. We'll begin with the T.F.C text first where we begin with utily or "it happened at" Lakam Ha "the Big Water or the Big Lake" (F14) Chan "sky" Kun "seat" so this is the "Sky Seat." "Cancun" in Yukatek means "Sky Seat." Then we have who did it recorded here at E16. He was called the Wak Chan "Six Sky" Ox Bolon Chak (F16) and this guy who we saw earlier in the waybil that Pakal created and he is a holy Manikin lord (E17). (Nikolai states here that this is the glyph for dancing place.)

Now if we jump over to the Tablet of the Sun we can see the same thing recorded here at 015. We have a Head Variant for the glyph that reads Yemal followed by K'uk Lakam Witz (N16) which is the name for the huge mountain called Mirador, which is directly behind the Temple of the Foliated Cross. This then, is direct information that the dance platform was called the Ox Bolon Chak, as Nikolai states and that the dedication of the K'inich K'uk House took place at the base of the Yemal-K'uk-Lakam-Witz which means that it took place in the Temple of the Foliated Cross. I would be willing to bet that deep under the Foliated Cross or maybe inside it is an earlier temple that is encased with either relics of the Founder or of the body of the Founder.

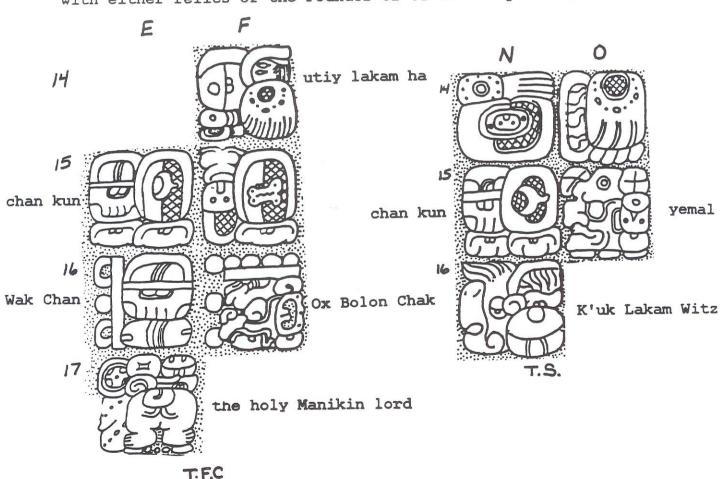


Fig. 151

The next event that we are going to be dealing with is known as the 5 Eb 5 K'ayab Event. It's recorded in three places on these temples: on the door jambs that were on the inside of the doors that led into the interior of the Pib na of the sanctuary or the underground house or the symbolic sweatbath located on the inside of these temples (Temple of the Cross, Temple of the Foliated Cross, Temple of the Sun). From each of the three temples we only have a fragment of one side of the door and by historical accident we have the framed fragments from the same side of the door, but we do not know what was on the opposite side of the door (Fig. 152). I'm sure that this event was linked to some other event, but we do not know what it was because those other fragments haven't been found. The other place where this is found is on the alfardas (balustrade stones) that were on either side of the main stairway about halfway up the pyramidal base (Fig. 153) and the final place was on the outer piers of the the Temple of the Sun and probably on all three temples. This is because this was public information that would have been seen by the people in the courtyard below. One last place that this occurs is on the Death's Head (Fig. 154) which is suppose to be in the National Museum in Mexico City. It is a block of stone with a monkey head or skull on it and it There is an inscription on the front of the statue apparently rocked. and on the two sides.



T of C Sanc Jamb





T of S Sanc Jamb

mple of the Cress To

Temple of the Feliated Cress

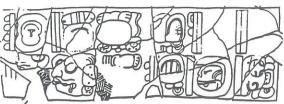
Temple of the Sax

5 Eb 5 Kayab Events on the Senctuary Door Jambs

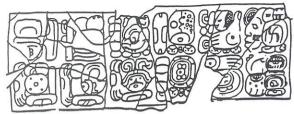
T of FC

Sanc Jamb

#### 5 Eb 5 Kayab Events on the Temple Alfardas

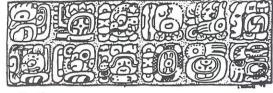


Temple of the Cross T of C Alfardas

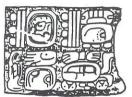


u pih nai

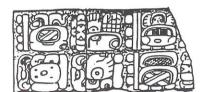




Temple of the Foliated Cross T of FC Alfardas u pib nall



Temple of the Sun T of S Alfardas



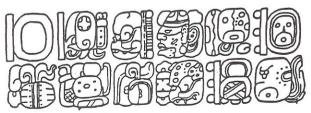
u pib nai

Fig. 153









Palenque Deaths Head

On the text from the T.C. Alfardas we have the same event that we've seen earlier with the och fist (A2) and again, we don't know how to read the last part of it. It probably means "entering the platform or entering the temple." In each case you are given the name of the temple or the Pib Na. Here from the T.C. Door Jambs it is called the Wakah Chan (B3). From the Temple of the Cross Alfardas it is called Na Te Tan (H1) (Fig.155). In each case we are told that this was its holy name (A3 of Alf. and A4 of Door J.) or u ch'ul k'aba and in the T.C. Door Jamb example, we are told that it was the U Pib Nail (second half of A4). In Chol the li suffix tells you that this is part of a larger structure, so by having the li suffix on the na here, we have pib nail and it tells us that this pib na is inside something bigger. Then we are told the person who owns the pib na of the Temple of the Cross is Hun Nal Ye or GI (B4).

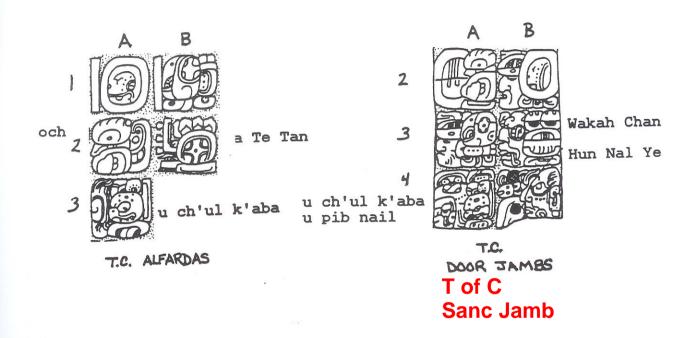


Fig. 155

In the Temple of the Foliated Cross we are told that it was an U Kunul (B8), which Steve Houston has said was a kind of oven, but kun is also the word for "seat or a place for enchanting and calling out beings from the Otherword." Following that is GII of the Triad (A9) and then we are told that this god is the u hun tan "the cherished one" of Mak'ina Kan-Balam (A10) (Fig.156). Then each of the texts goes forward to the seating of the 13th k'atun on 9.13.0.0.0 (B10-A12) as a future event because here is the utom that says "it will happen" (A11) on 8 Ahaw 8 Wo at the Lakam Ha place (B12) (Fig.156).

u kunul

GII

u hun tan Mahk'ina Kan-Balam II

utom 8 Ahaw

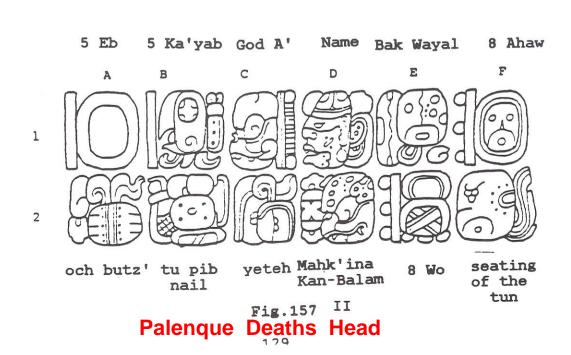
8 Wo

Lakam Ha

#### Palenque, T. of EC Sanc Jamb

Fig. 156

Now when we look at Death's Head example (Fig.157) we have the same date 5 Eb (A1) 5 K'ayab (B1) followed by the same verb that reads och butz' "entered smoke" (A2) Tu Pib Nail or "into the Pib Nail of" (B2) the death god A' (C1 D1) and he is one of the Death Gods of the Underworld and it also the name of the being on the statue. Following that we have that it "was the work of" yetch (C2) K'ina Kan-Balam (D2) the Bak Wayal "the bony way" (E1) and then it ends with the day 8 Ahaw (F1) 8 Wo (E2) the seating of the tun (F2).



(Peter Mathews) Now remember, Kan-Balam II was pretty old when he became king because his father lived so long. Kan-Balam II ruled for about 18 years and then it says according to the Palace Tablet (Fig. 158) that it was 15 k'ins, 6 winals (M1), and 18 tuns later (N1) from his accession (M2) and then he entered the road (N2) on the day 6 Chikchan (M3) 3 Pohp (N3). This tied again absolutely to the LC because it says that this was 1 winals and 5 k'ins (M4) after the day 7 Ahaw (N4) 3 K'umku (M5) the half-period (N5). The date then, is 9.13.10.0.0 and the death date is 1 winal and 5 k'ins later or 9.13.10.1.5 6 Chikchan 3 Pohp. The next glyph is a very special focus marker that means "and finally" (M6) followed by u bu t'u wa or u but'wa which means "they buried or covered up (N6) Mak'ina Kan-Balam II (M7) the lord of Palenque (N7).

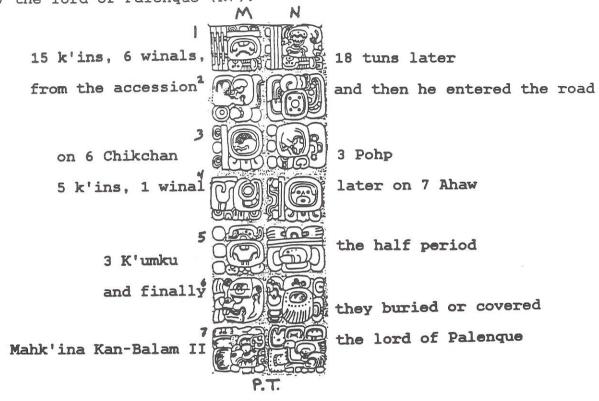
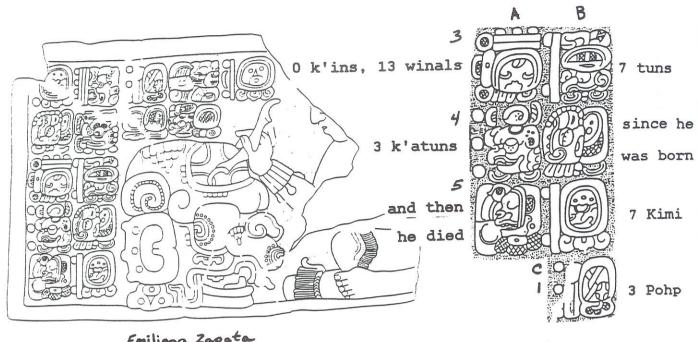


Fig. 158

The glyph at M2 is a compound logograph for the accession verb and it can not be separated into its single elements anymore. There is clear substitution of this version for both the chak with the axe in his hand followed by the to and for the other one that reads Mak'uch. This is accession expressed as "he was chak te'd." It apparently also refers to the king as one of the world trees. It is the chak that is displayed in the Dresden Codex as the one sitting in the tree.

Now recently there was a new panel found at Emiliana Zapata that was looted from Palenque (Fig.159). This panel deals with Kan-Balam II and his death date is recorded just a bit different from the one we just looked at. This one gives his age at death, as well, because this DN is 0 k'ins, 13 winals (A3), 7 tuns (B3), and 3 k'atuns (A4), so he was about 66 years old since he was born (B4) and then kimi "he died" (A5). The date is then in the 365 day calendar as 3 Pohp (C1), but the day in the 260 day position is the following day to the one on the Palace Tablet. Instead of 6 Chikchan it is 7 Kimi. We are not exactly sure what is going on here, but as we've speculated earlier, sometimes these discrepancies of one day later may be relate to these calendrical cycles beginning at different points in the 24 hour day.

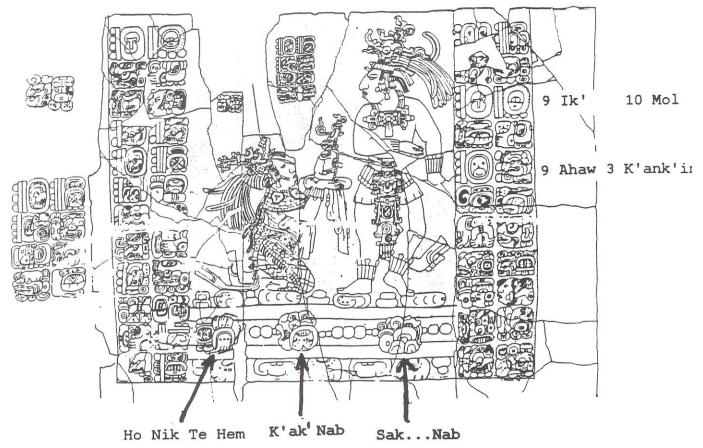
Let's say for the sake of argument that Kan-Balam died at night, this cycle might have kicked over to the next one, but the 3 Pohp is still in place until the following dawn or something like that. The death verb at A5 probably read Chami in Chol.



Emiliana Zapata

Fig. 159

(Linda Schele) The last thing that I want to go over is on this wall panel from Temple 14 (Fig. 160). I'm not going to go over the mythological side (left side) of this panel. It records two events that occur on 9 Ik' (A1) 10 Mol (B1) and on on 13 Ok' (A5) 18 Wo (B5). These dates occurred a very long time ago in the past; about 5 piktuns. One of these events (13 Ok' 18 Wo) is represented on a pot that was also found at the site that included some of these same events. That means that we do have some record of some of the mythology associated with this. Following that we have a DN that comes forward from 9 Ik' (C3) 10 Mol (D3) to 9 Ahaw (A5) 3 K'ank'in (B5). There is only one time when the 9 Ahaw 3 K'ank'in falls into his lifetime, but it falls very early in his lifetime (his 18th year). The other placement is exactly 3 Haabs and 1 Tzolk'in after his death. The scene portrays Kan-Balam II dancing on a location that is identified in a number of ways. It's identified by this glyph (glyph to the left and below the kneeling figure) as the Ho Nik Te Hem or the "Five Flower Valley" as K'ak' Nab or "as the ocean" (center glyph below figures) and this glyph as Sak Something Nal and this must, from substitution, be the word for "north" (right glyph below figure). This then, is the primordial sea at a place called the Five Flower Valley and it's in the north. Greeting Kan-Balam II is a woman who is dressed in the costume that the mother of king often wears and she holds a k'awil or manikin figure towards Kan-Balam II as he dances. I think that this scene corresponds beautifully to the scene on the pots where the Maize God arrives with women dressing. I think that is the replication of that scene and it's part of the resurrection mythology that is also along all of the piers of House B of the Palace.

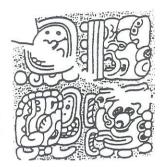


# Palenque Temple 14 Tablet

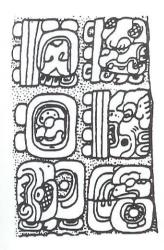
Here is an enlargement of the text from the panel in Temple 14 This passage begins with the day 9 Ahaw (C5) 3 K'ank'in (D3). Now Floyd showed that this falls on the stationary point of Jupiter and that Kan-Balam II spent his life centering events on the stationary points of Jupiter. Here is the och, so he is "entering" someplace and here we have U Kun Na "the seat of" (C6) and here is a specific location (D6) that reads Ek' Something Nal. I don't know how to read the location, but this same location appears on one of the polychrome pots that have bats with their eyeballs hanging out and all sorts of ways and nawals in the Otherworld. I think that this is an Afterlife location that he is arriving at and it is a north location. This is the yet or "by the work of" (C7) and here is GI (D7) GIII (C8) followed by another glyph here (D8). This is a glyph that also appears on the Princeton Pot where the old God L sits on the throne and several lovely ladies bring him water and food. Those ladies have this name (C9) and here we have the Hun Ahaw (D9) again. Then we have another phrase that says that "these are the gods of" (C10) the bacle way (D10) Mak'ina Kan-Balam II (C11) the holy lord of Palenque (D11). I think this is where he enters whatever Afterlife this place is and then takes his place with these gods. This is a posthumous resurrection event.

D C 5 3 K'ank'in 9 Ahaw the seat of location GI by the work of GIII Hun Ahaw Name these are the gods the bakle way of holy lord of Palenque Mahk'ina Kan-Balam II T.14 PANEL Fig. 161

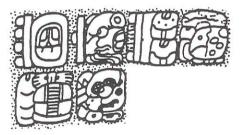
### Kan-Balam II



Kan-Balam's birth was recorded on the Emiliano Zapata Panel and on the TS on the day 9.10.2.6.6 2 Kimi 19 Sotz' (May 23, 635). The Emiliano Zapata Panel also has ka phonetic complements to tell us that the word for "snake" used here is kan rather than chan.



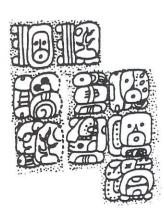
His birth is connected to his heir-designation at age six on 9.10.8.9.3 9 Ak'bal 6 Xul through 9.10.8.9.8 1 Lamat 11 Xul (June 17-June 22, 641). Heir-designation is recorded in a number of ways with the main title being ochte', "enterer." Several of the many records of this event include the phrase "introduced from the pyramid." The TFC also includes the title ba ch'ok, the "first sprout." Thus, the heir became the first in the status of sprout of the lineage.







The events associated with the heir designation apparently went on for over a year. Texts on all three of the main panels record that the heir "came down" (hubiy) in "enterer-ship" (ta ochte'le[l]) or as tikil ch'ok tzuk, "person sprout partition." This title was discussed in last year's workbook. It refers to the four partitions of the world. The heir came down from the pyramid as a sprout person of the world partitions.

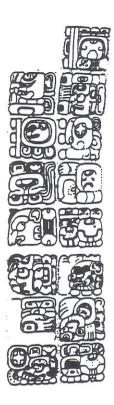


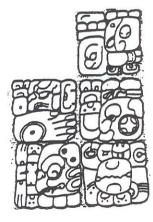
### Kan-Balam II (cont)

TFC: L14-N5



Kan-Balam's accession is recorded in many different texts at Palenque. We have included a sample that shows the diversity with which the event was recorded. On the TFC, a dn connects his birth to the action when the headband was displayed for him. The day was 9.12.11.12.10 8 Ok 3 Kayab (Jan. 10, 684). On the Palace Tablet, the event is linked to Pakal's death which is described as "opening the Sak Hun headband." Accession is recorded as ahawyan, "was ahawed." He is called "older brother person," (suku winik), "sprout" (ch'ok), and "He the Ballplayer (Ah Pitzlawal). The two glyphs following his name identify Mah K'ina Kan-Balam as his accession name.





The record on the west panel of the Temple of Inscriptions records that the Sak Hun headdress was displayed for him, but the passage goes on to say that "he gave caringtaking" (yak'wa huntan) to something called Bolon Te' Na u ch'ul k'aba u kimil Mah K'ina Hanab-Pakal, Ch'ul Bak Ahwal, "Nine Tree Structure [was] its holy name, the death place of the Great Sun Flower-Shield, Holy Palenque Lord."











The outer panels of all three panels record an event ten days after the accession. It is written *iwal chi wa* or *ichwa*. Schele once suggested it was *chi*, a verb for nursing, but we are much less sure. The glyph following is U K'ix-Chan, the Olmec-period ruler named in the ancestor list. The event is clearly ancester recall or some similar thing. Joe Orr first identified this as a maximum elongation of Venus in the 1986 Advanced Seminar. John Justeson noticed the same thing and published it in his review of Maya Astronomy.

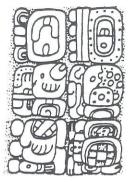


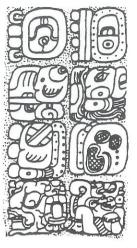
This passage from the Tablet of the Slaves is his accession recorded as chum tun, "seated on the stone."

### Kan-Balam II (cont)

TS, N4-06

TFC, L1-M4

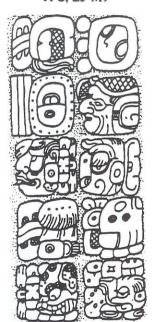


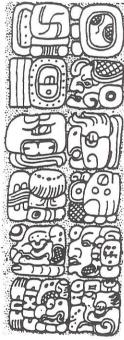


The first major event in Kan-Balam's life after his accession is the famous 2 Kib 14 Mol set of events that started on 9.12.18.5.16 (Jul. 23, 690). Floyd Lounsbury first associated this date with a stunning hierophany in which Jupiter and Saturn were frozen on their stationary points less than 5° apart. On this night Mars joined them and the moon was also in the cluster. Anthony Aveni and Dieter Dütting have suggested that the Maya saw this configuration as the reunion of the Palenque Triad and their mother. Nikolai, David Stuart, Dieter Dütting, and others take the verb to be puluy, "it burned." We don't know if this refers to the astronomy or to some ritual it stimulated.

TFC, L5-M9

TS, N7-012



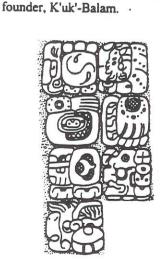




On the next day, Kan-Balam dedicated a house called the K'inich K'uk' Na, "Sun-faced Quetzal House."

Three days after the 2 Kib event and two days after the house dedication, Kan-Balam conjured up gods he called the *Nu Yahaw Chan Itz'at*, the artist of the sky who painted the images of the constellations in the sky on the day of Creation (see the 1992 Workbook).

The TS adds one more piece of information—that the conjuring took place at the Yemal-K'uk-Te'-Witz, "Descending-Quetzal-Tree-Mountain," the name of the big mountain behind the TFC. We suspect that the K'inich K'uk' House is inside the Temple of the Foliated Cross and that it concerned the

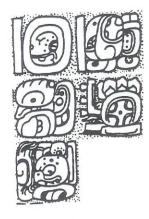


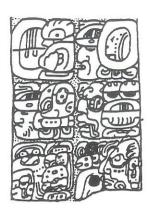




TFC, L10-L14

## Kan-Balam II (cont)





Another event that took place on 9.12.19.14.12 5 Eb 5 K'ayab (Jan. 10, 692). It is repeated on the outer piers, the alfardas, and the sanctuary door jambs of each temple. The day was the 8th tropical year anniversary of Kan-Balam's accession and it saw Venus back in the same place it was on his accession. The verb begins with *och* but we don't know how to read the rest of the main sign, but we believe tht the three gods of the Palenque Triad entered the *pib na* in the temples on that day.



Kan-Balam died after eighteen years of reign. His date of death is recorded as 9.13.10.1.5 6 Chikchan 3 Pop on the Palace Tablet and 7 Kimi 3 Pop on the Emiliana Zapata Panel. This was February 20, 702.





Steve Houston read the verb in the second part of the passage from the Palace Tablet as u but' wa.

The inflection is that of a transitive verb, and but' means "llenar" in Chol and "llenar, embutir,

henchir" in Yukatek, and "to bury under, cover up" in 16th century Tzotzil. This appears to be a reference to his burial under something—perhaps the slab over his tomb. The phrase reads "they covered him up, Mah K'ina Kan-Balam."

The panel in Temple 14 records a posthumous event that Floyd has shown was also timed by a Jupiter stationary point. The event is och u kun ek'???nal, "he entered its seat black???place." This entering is done yet, by "the work of," GI, GIII, the goddess of Numbr 2, and Hun-Ahaw.



Almost all of the information that we have about K'an-Hok'-Chitam II comes from the Palace Tablet and the Tablet of the 96 Glyphs. We start out on the Palace Tablet (Fig.162) with an ISIG with the Patron for the month Mak (A1-B2) followed by the LC date of 9 (A3-B4). 10 (A5-B6). 11 (A7-B8). 17 (A9-B10). 0 (A11-B12) 11 Ahaw (A13-B14) 18 Mak (A18). There is also an 819 Day Count in here that I'm not going to do because I want to concentrate on the next passage.

This is the verb that we probably think reads sihya which is a logographic word for "birth" (C4) and then we have yo ol la or Yol Tan which means "its heart or center" (D4). This next glyph reads na something mi (C5) followed by K'ak Nab which is the word for the "primordial sea" (D5) and Na Tok' Tan (C6) Bal Yoch (D6) which I can not do much with. Finally, we get something here (C7) that I can't do anything with followed by Xe Winik (D7), which I think was the name of his barrio. Then we have ch'ok (C8) and his child name recorded here as Ox K'aban with an axe over the sign (C9). The problem is that you could read this sign Ox Chak K'aban, but it's probably a logograph with the axe over the earth sign and the lst glyph is also part of his name and it reads Mat (C9).

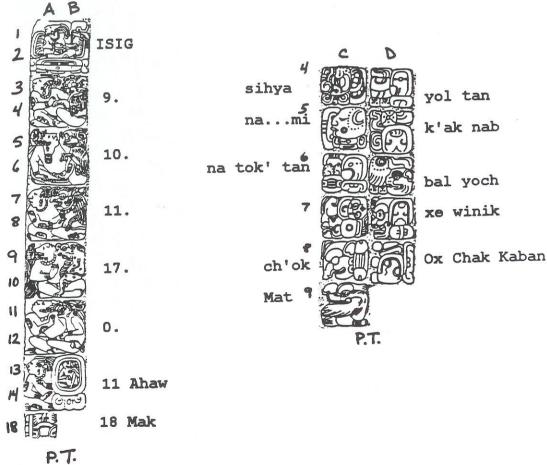


Fig. 162

The interesting thing about this passage is that he is born from the heart of the center of the primordial sea. If you go forward in this text to his parentage expression, it says that his flower "his soul" comes from the vision snake and I think they are using the

metaphor of the snake coming out of the primordial sea and joining our

world as the image of the child being born into the world.

(Peter Mathews) So we've seen K'an-Hok'-Chitam II born and now when he is still a young sprout we see other things happening (Fig. 163). Here on the Palace Tablet we begin this passage again with a DN of 19 k'ins, 0 winals (D18), and 7 tuns (C19) since he was born (D19) and then it happened (E1) 2 Kawak (F1) 12 Keh (it is recorded as Yax) We then have a series of events that concern the various gods which Linda went over on the panels from the Temple of the Foliated Cross and the other temples on the 2 Kib 14 Mol events. This is the Flat Hand verb again with a small deer-hoof, but we're still not sure how to read it (F2 E3). This glyph is the same name that we saw earlier as Ox Chak K'aban (F3) Mat Ch'ok (E4) followed by a glyph that reads yichnal "in the company of" (F4) and he was in the company of all of the gods. Here is GI (E5 F5), GII (E6 F6), GIII (E7 F 7) and here is Hun Ahaw (F8).

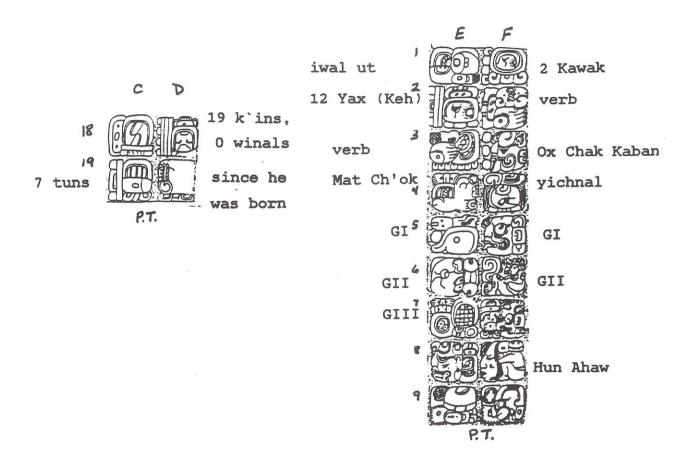


Fig. 163

We really don't know what this last event was. It may have been a bloodletting ritual, but that it actually coming up later on in this text, so let's read on (Fig. 164). The next passage from the Palace Tablet begins with a DN of 0 k'ins (G3), 0 winals (H3), and 13 tuns (G4) (There is a section of the text missing here and so this DN is not from the last date we looked at.) and then it happened (H4) 12 Ahaw (G5) 3 Ch'en (H5) the 13th tun (G6). This specifies that this date is 9.11.13.0.0 and on this date we have a reference to K'an-Hok'-Chitam II as a child. Here is the Ox Chak K'aban name (H7) and the Mat (G8) again followed by the EG stating that he was the holy lord of Palenque

(H8). We then have a verb that I can't do anything with (G9) and the yichnal glyph again, so he did something in the company of (H9) his gods (G10) GI (H10 I1) GII (J1) and GIII (I2). Here at H6 G7 we have a verbal phrase that reads U Ch'an wa (H6) Chan (G7) that means "he takes the snake." This then, is the bloodletting event assocaited with K'an-Hok'-Chitam II.

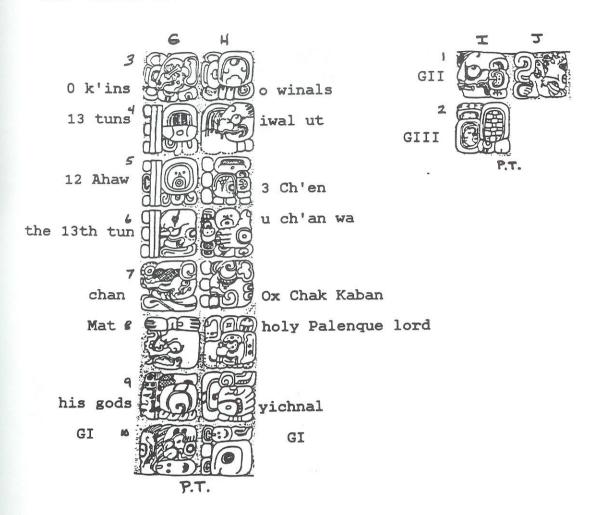


Fig. 164

This is a PE date and K'an-Hok'-Chitam II is still not the ruler. It is during Pakal's reign. This may represent his first bloodletting. at the age of 7 because he will undergo another one when he is 21 years old.

This next passage is rather interesting because this is the passage just after the passage that deals with Kan-Balam II's accession date as recorded on the Palace Tablet. In that passage (not shown here K1-L6) it says "he became king, the headband was dispalyed for him, Kan-Balam II" and then this passage (Fig.165) says that "he was seated" (K7) ta ba "as the first (L7) ch'oklel "sproutship" (K8) followed by a reference not to Kan-Balam II, but to his younger brother K'an-Hok'-Chitam II recorded here as Ox Chak K'aban (L8) Mat (K9). So this then, is the name of K'an-Hok'-Chitam II and he is undergoing some kind of accession rite, but when his brother is becoming the high king of Palenque. We have one other glyph here at L9 that means "younger brother person" or Its'i Uinic. Remember Kan-Balam II earlier in this tablet was recorded as the "older brother person" because these two individuals have the same parents. So what happens here is that Pakal

dies, Kan-Balam II gets elevated from the ba ch'ok position (first sprout position) in the hierarchy to become the king and now K'an-Hok'-Chitam II gets elevated to the ba ch'ok position. At this time he is 49 years old and this is one of the times where ch'ok doesn't mean "young person." It's his status in the royal line.

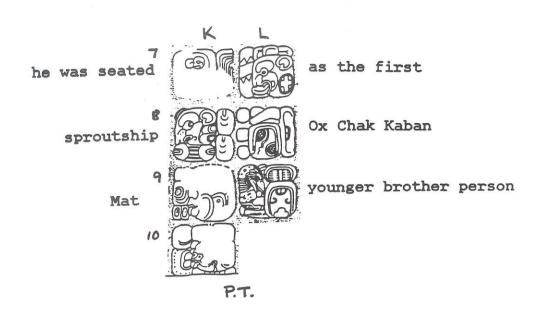
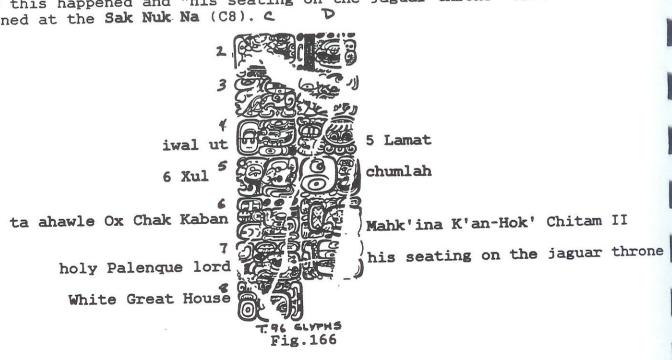


Fig. 165

Now we will look at his accession as seen on the Tablet of the 96 Glyphs (Fig.166). This passage goes forward from Pakal II's House Dedication Event on 9.11.2.1.11. It begins with "and then it happened" (C4) the day 5 Lamat (D4) 6 Xul (C5) chumlah "he was seated" (D5) ta ahawle "in the office of ahaw" Ox Chak K'aban (C6) and then we get his new royal name at (D6) recorded as Mak'ina K'an-Hok'-Chitam II and he is the holy Palenque lord (C7). Then at the tail end of this passage where this happened and "his seating on the jaguar throne" (D7) happened at the Sak Nuk Na (C8). C



There are other references to his accession that I'm going to skip through fairly fast. This is from the Palace Tablet (Fig.167) and in this passage we are told that it was 3 k'ins and 5 winals (M8) after the untying (N8) of the headband (M9) (of Kan-Balam II, the previous king) "and then it happened" (N9) 5 Lamat (M10) 6 Xul (N10) or 9.13.10.6.8. This then is just 103 days after the death of Kan-Balam II.

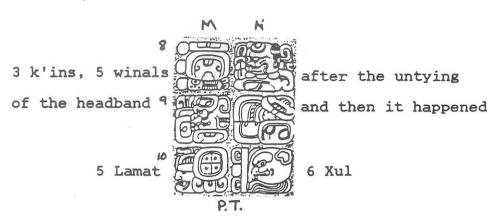


Fig. 167

Then we get a long accession compound not all of which we can understand at the moment. This is one one of the verbs for accession (01) and I'm going to skip all the way down to here where we have his youthful title again (08) Ox Chak K'aban Mat (P8) followed by Mak'ina (09) K'an-Hok'-Chitam II (P9). The next two glyphs state that this was his accession name (010 P10) at the time he took the headband. The text then goes on saying that he was a Ballplayer (011 P11) and these are the EG's of Palenque (012 P12) (Fig.168).

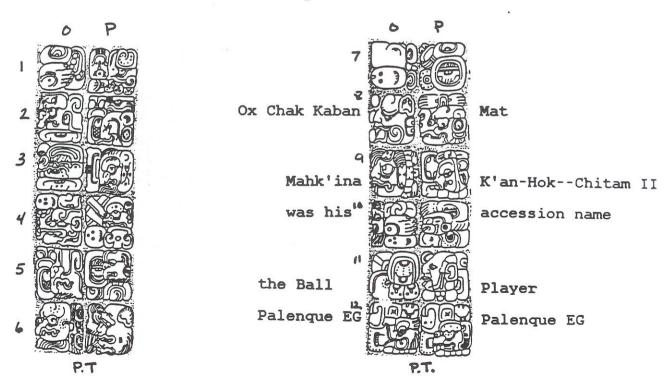


Fig. 168

There is another reference to him on the Tablet of the Slaves (Fig.169). Earlier, Linda pointed out a shorthand notation for how many k'atun-ending dates have passed between the accession of Pakal and the accession of Kan-Balam. This one says that there was 1 more k'atun-ending that passed between the accession of Kan-Balam, which is in the previous sentence, and the seating of the tun for K'an-Hok'-Chitam II (A3). This PE date is 9.13.0.0.0

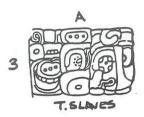
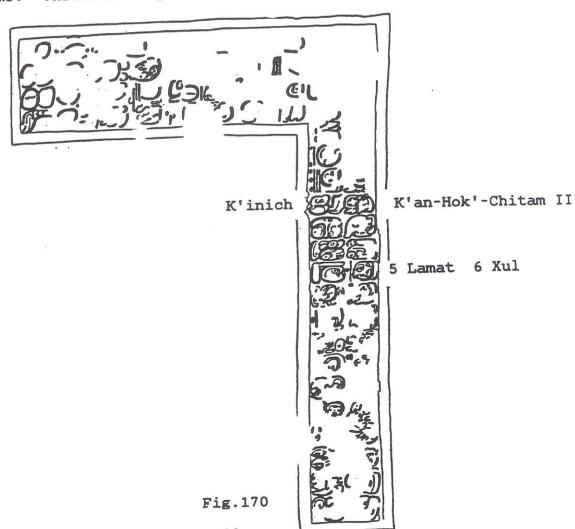


Fig. 169

There is a mural (Fig.170) painting from the center wall of House AD in the NW Court of the Palace. When Linda and I first looked at this many years ago we wrote that there was an accession statement here (I10 J10) on the day 5 Lamat (I11) 6 Xul (J11) and here is the K'inich Title (I8) followed by the name K'an-Hok'-Chitam II (J8). The next two glyphs at I9 and J9 are more titles that also appear on the piers on the north side of House AD. This glyph I10 states this was his accession name. Unfortunately the surrounding glyphs are eroded.



Palenque House A-D Mural

For the iconography, notice in this scene from the Palace Tablet (Fig.171) the curved line behind K'an-Hok'-Chitam II. This is the Oval Palace Tablet of House E. The text certainly says all of this stuff took place in House E or the Sak Nuk Na as it is referred to in the inscriptions. This is his father Pakal (on the left) handing over the headdress and his mother (on the right) Lady Tz'ak Ahaw handing over the tok' pakal.

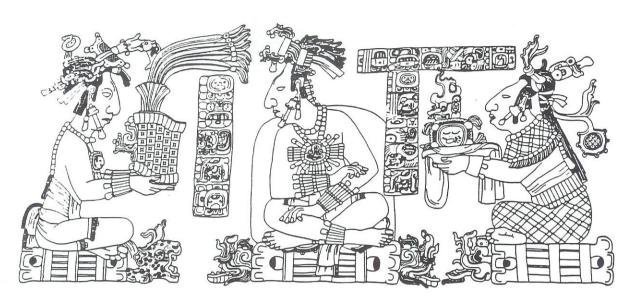
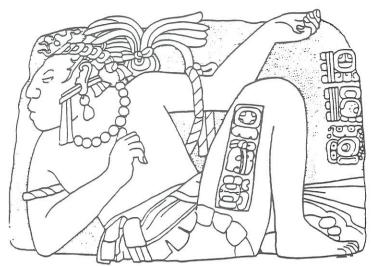


Fig. 171

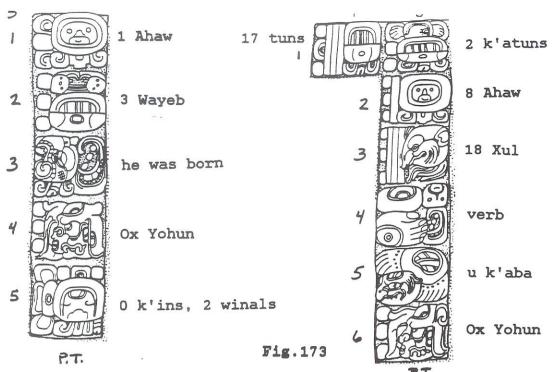
Aside from those events, K'an-Hok'-Chitam II doesn't have a great deal of press at Palenque. He was reasonably old when he became king (just over 50) and he was a bit rash later in his life especially now that we know all of this military stuff that occurred with Palenque over the years with Pakal and other rulers. It seems that he wanted to go out on a military campaign as well. He did so and we hear no more about him at Palenque itself, but we get a portrait at Tonina of a person who is clearly a high king because he is wearing the royal diadem (Fig. 172). This is quite strange in style for Tonina in terms of the iconographic depiction and so on of this individual. We get a very short inscription with a date only in the CR notation. is 13 Ak'bal (A1) 16 Yax (A2) and then we have a war event as the verb here at A3. Although he is wearing the royal diadem with the Jester God attached to it he also is wearing a rope as an indication of being a captive and his clothes marks him as a sacrificial victim. His name is carved on his thigh and his name is K'an (B1) Hok'-Chitam II (B2) Palenque Ahaw (B3). There seems to be no doubt at all that this is the same K'an-Hok'-Chitam II from Palenque who has now ended up as a captive of Ruler 3 from Tonina. There is only one possible calculation for this date to be in K'an-Hok'-Chitam II's reign and that is That date recorded on this panel (which is the date of 9.13.19.13.3. this battle) and his birth date on 9.10.11.17.0 indicates that he was about 67 or 68 years old at the time of his death.



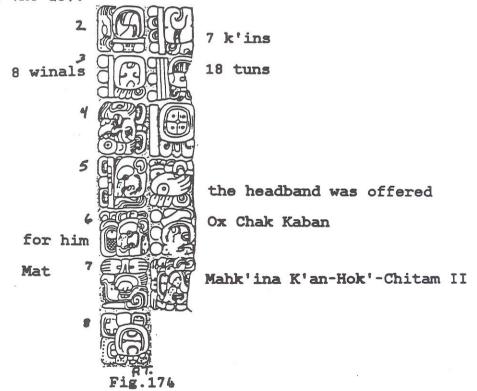
13 Ak'bal
16 Yax
War Event Verb

# Tonina MOnument 122

The tail end of the Palace Tablet, a very long inscription on the north side of the Palace, I think like the third tablet of the Temple of the Inscriptions was purposely left blank in its final area to be carved and record the death of K'an-Hok'-Chitam II. Instead of that, if that was the intention, it's not what we get perhaps because of the untimely fate of K'an-Hok'-Chitam II. Recorded then, is different information and up in the scene of the Palace Tablet are two secondary texts (Fig. 173). We have talked about another individual (Linda and Peter in the past) who we identified by this glyph (U5) with the name Xok and thought that he might be some extra ruler. This is because, initially, 20 years ago there was still a big gap here. We didn't have the capture monument at Tonina and so we had a lot of events early in the life of K'an-Hok'-Chitam II, but not much else. Floyd was the one who identified Xok and we thought at the time that it solved a major problem in the sequence. It nows turns out that this is not even read Xok and it is not even a reference to an individual in this case. is happeneing is that these passages up here talk about a subsidiary figure who seems to have taken over at Palenque to keep things going and perhaps was trying to get K'an-Hok'-Chitam II back or perhaps until the dynastic situation could be sorted out and a new person could become king. My own feeling is that the keeping alive of the captives, royal captives especially, may have enhanced the home site. If you think about what happened to Moctezuma and Cortez after he was effectively captured by Cortez. The Aztecs for a short period were paralyzed. They didn't quite know how to act because their emperor, from whom they took all of their orders, wasn't able to give the There may have been a similar situation here at Palenque. Anyway, in this caption here we get a reference to another individual. K'an-Hok'-Chitam II is not mentioned at all. Instead we get on the day 1 Ahaw (S1) 3 Wayeb (S2) he was born (S3) and this has to be the name of the extra individual (S4). The date is 9.10.17.6.0. When Floyd looked at this he pointed out that this birth date is just 6 years after K'an-Hok'-Chitam II's own birth day and so we thought for a long time, (and it's still a good possibility) that this was yet another brother 6 years younger than K'an-Hok'-Chitam II who took over after K'an-Hok'-Chitam II's we thought then, his natural death. His name is Ux Yohun. We then get a DN of 0 k'ins, 2 winals (S5), 17 tuns (T1), and 2 k'atuns (U1) until the day 8 Ahaw (U2) 18 Xul (U3) and that date is 9.13.14.8.0. He then has this event as the verb (U4). His name is again recorded here (U6) and this simply says u k'aba (U5) "his name" which is the glyph that we originally identified as the name Xok.

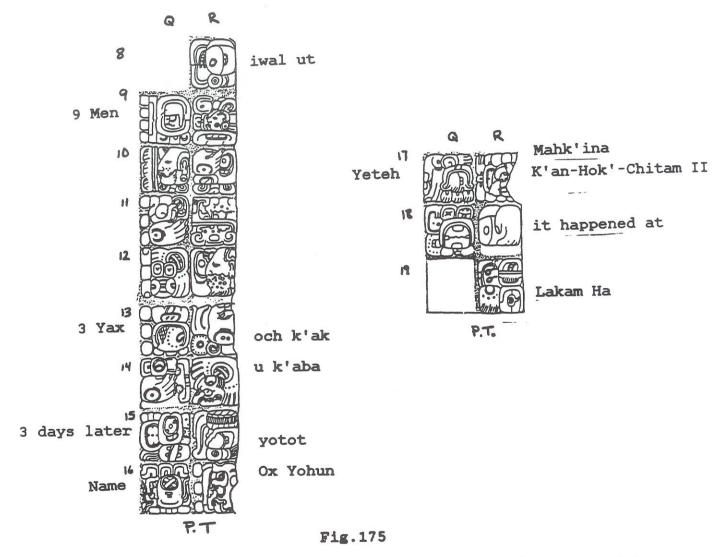


(Linda Schele) The reason for putting this man's biographical information in the main scene of this tablet is because he is the person who dedicated the building itself. In this passage from the Palace Tablet (Fig. 174) they tell us that this event is going to occur 7 k'ins (R2), 8 winals (Q3), and 18 tuns (R3) after (Q4) K'an-Hok'-Chitam II's accession (R4-Q8).



The next passage begins with "and then it happened" (R8) and then you get the day 9 Men (Q9), here's all of the lunar data (R9-R12), and 3 Yax (Q13). Then you have the verb that was the key to David Stuart's och glyph reading. This is phonetic o. This is phonetic chi, and here's the fire sign that reads k'ak (R13). This reads Och K'ak for "enters the fire or enters the smoke." Then you have the name of the accession house (Q14) so this means that they are taking the smoke, the

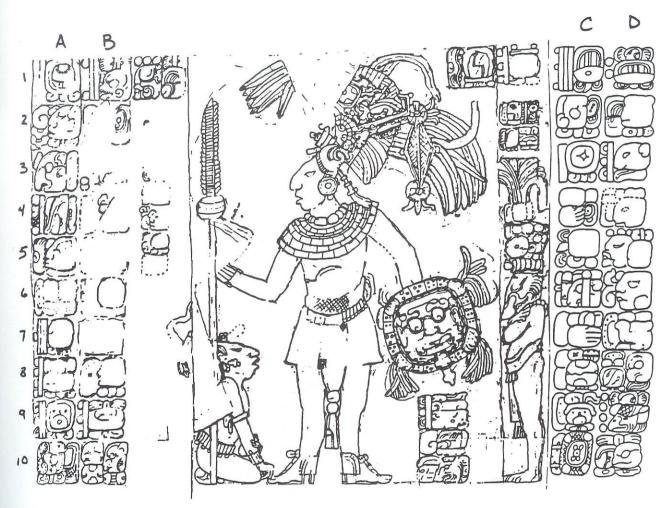
incense or the fire into the accession house. This has to be the name of House AD, the north building of the Palace where this tablet was found (Fig.175). The text then says u k'aba "was its name" (R14). Then 3 k'ins later and then there's a verb here read ha ha ta or Ha'at and I have no idea what it means (Q15). This is followed by yotot (R15) and this may be part of his name (Q16) and here is the Ox Yohun name again (R16). Then we get the yeteh "it was the work of" (Q17) Mak'ina K'an-Hok'-Chitam II (R17) the holy lord of Palenque (Q18). It happened at (R18) probably Yemal K'uk' Lakam Witz (Q19) and this is the Lakam Ha "Sky Seat" (R19). This is the location at Palenque where these events occurred at.



Now by the dating, K'an-Hok'-Chitam II is certainly captured by then. We don't know whether we have to assume that he is alive, but he is certainly in the hands of their enemy polity and this guy, who is probably the Bak Ahaw (the chief lord of Palenque) is the one that's doing the action. The glyph at Q16 looks to read ki or tzo followed by u, a glyph for hoy (main sign), with a ni and la. I can't do anything with that, however it should be part of the name of the owner. (Kathryn Josserand mentions here that if this glyph (Q15) reads ha'at it would mean "in his house.")

This is a looted panel (Fig.176) that Peter and I saw in 1973. At the time the jump that we made about the IS date of the Palace Tablet being his birth was a bit difficult to justify with what we knew at the

time. We had a secret and the secret was on this tablet where it said on 11 Ahaw (A9) 8 Mak (B9) he was born (A10) and the text clearly states the name K'an-Hok'-Chitam II here at C6. The information that's recorded again takes you to his accession and it tells you that he is the second successor to this office (D8) and that he is son of (C9) 4 K'atun Ahaw (D9) K'ina Hanab-Pakal II (C10) who was the Mah Chakte (D10). This is one of the tablets from the piers on the north side of the Palace that showed K'an-Hok'-Chitam II was also a warrior. Notice the Drum Major Headdress that is being carried beside him as a part of his war costume.



**Palenque Warrior Tablet** 

Fig. 176

BREAK 3:20-3:40 P.M.

## K'an-Hok'-Chitam II





The opening passage of the Palace Tablet records the birth of K'an-Hok'-Chitam II on 9.10.11.17.0 11 Ahaw 8 Mak (Nov. 5, 644). The expression used for birth is very unusual in that the normal birth verb is followed by yol tan nam k'aknab, "in the heart of the center of the ??? ocean." Nam is "to wane or disappear" in Chorti and "distant or far" in 16th century Tzotzil. Here the entire passage seems to be saying that the child was born in the portal or hole that leads from the center of the Primordial Sea.

Pal. Tab, A1-C9

At age 7 on 9.10.18.17.19 2

Kawak 12 Keh (Oct. 19, 651)K'an-ahok'-achitam performs an unknown event.

The event is written with the flathand verb with yax, a mat, and T628 and the flathand again but with a deer hoof. There still is no confident reading of these verbs. The passage concludes by saying that K'an-Hok'-Chitam did this event "in the company of" the gods of the Palenque Triad and three more gods.





Pal. Tab. C18-F14

This passage records an event in which K'an-Hok'-Chitam took a Vision Serpent. We think it may have been his first bloodletting rite. It was "in the company of" the Triad Gods.

Pal. Tab., G8-I7

### K'an-Hok'-Chitam II (cont)



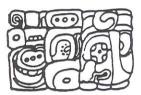
The main record of K'an-Hok'-Chitam on the Palace Tablet begins with the number of days, 103, after the White Headband was loosened from Kan-Balam's head. K'an-Hok'-Chitam then had his headdress displayed for him. According to the scene this headdress was the war helmet called the drummajor headdress. The rest of the phrase is

The rest of the phrase is not well understood, but it finally ends with K'an-Hok'-Chitam's name. As with the Palace painted text and with Kan-Balam's passage, the text then remarks that this was his accession name.

A later repetition records that the White Headband was displayed for him. Khris Villela and Schele have shown that this particular accession phrase descends from the one on Tikal Stela 31 and that it specifically refers to the Tlaloc-Venus war complex, to the drummajor headdress, and to the tok'-pakal emblem of war.



On the Tablet of the Slaves, the accession is recorded with the chum-tun expression that doubles here for the period ending.



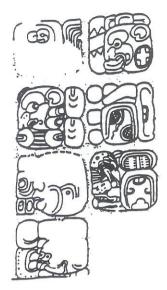
K'an-Hok'-Chitam met an unhappy end at the hands of the ruler of Tonina. The panel below shows him as a bound captive on the day 13 Ak'bal 16 Yax, Keh, or Ch'en. Between the time of his accession and that of the king who followed him, there is only one eligible date— 9.13.19.13.3 13 Ak'bal 16 Yax

(Aug. 30, 711). The verb here is the star over a place called *u kun*, "its seat." Since the next accession date in Palenque's history is 9.14.10.4.2, we suspect that K'an-Hok'-Chitam was held captive for a long time.



**Tonina Monument 122** 

#### K'an-Hok'-Chitam (cont)



Pal. Tab. K12-K15

On the day his older brother became the king, K'an-Hok'-Chitam was seated in the ba ch'oklel, the "first sproutship," of the city. He is also called the "younger brother person." He became the first sprout in place of his brother on 9.12.11.12.10 8 Ok 3 K'ayab (Jan. 10, 684)

This painted text is from the center wall of House AD at the head of the NW court. Not much of it is readable, but the name K'inich K'an-Hok'-Chitam is clear. The two glyphs after the name include a T-shaped sign that is also on one of the piers on the north side of House AD. The name concludes with "his accession name" and then the date of accession 5 Lamat 6 Xul.



### Palenque House A-D Mural

96 Glyphs, C2-C8



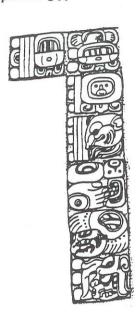
K'an-Hok'-Chitam's accession also occurs on the Tablet of the 96 Glyphs where it is recorded as *chumlah ti ahawle*, "became seated in ahawhsip." Here an additional phrase is added saying that he was seated on the jaguar throne in the Sak Nuk Na or House E. The scene on the Palace Tablet shows him seated in front of an object shaped like the Oval Palace Tablet. The throne he sits on is one of the three set up by the gods at Creation. His mother and father sit on the other two thrones as they hold up the helmet and flint-shield of war for him.



# K'an-Hok'-Chitam II: his subsidiary lords

The Palace Tablet features a subordinate lord who appears to have acted in the place of the captured king during the years of his captivity. His texts surround the central figure in the scene and in the final passage of the main text. His birth was on  $9.10.17.6.0\ 1$  Ahaw 3 Wayeb (Feb. 27, 650). He seems to have gone through a ceremony in which he got his name on  $9.13.14.8.0\ 8$  Ahaw  $18\ Xul$ . We have called him Xok in the past, but the particular glyph we thought to be his personal name ended up being  $u\ k'aba$ , "his name." That leaves only one possible glyph to be his name. It read Ox Yohun.





Ox Yohun entered a house with smoke to dedicate it. Its name was the "accession" house and we believe it to be House AD, where this panel was once located. There seems also to have been a second ceremony 3 days later. Finally, the passage ends with a phrase yeteh Mah K'ina K'an-Hok'-Chitam, Ch'ul Bak Ahaw, "by the authority of Great Sun K'an-Hok'-Chitam, Holy Palenque Lord."



### AKUL-AH-NAB III

After K'an-Hok'-Chitam II we have a break in the dynasty. There is certainly no clear cut evidence that the next ruler was in the direct line of descent continuing all the way through from Pakal, Kan-direct line of descent continuing all the way through from Pakal, Kan-direct line of descent continuing all the way through from Pakal, Kan-direct line of descent continuing all the way through from Pakal, Kan-direct line of descent line of the was recognized. We not certain, however, is that he took the name of two not certain. What is certain, however, is that he took the name of two of early kings that we've dealt with already called Akul-Ah-Nab and so we call this one Akul-Ah-Nab III. Clearly he was recognized as the we call this one Akul-Ah-Nab III. Clearly he was recognized on a high king of Palenque. We have some of his information recorded on a temple that was specifically his (Temple 18 and Temple 18A). There temple that was specifically his (Temple 18 and Temple 18A). There were some beautiful stucco glyphs found there, but unfortunately most of them fell off the wall into a large jig-saw puzzle. It was very of them fell off the wall into a large jig-saw puzzle. It was very well excavated by the Mexican archaeologists, including Heinrich Berlin, who took part in the excavations and today they are on a wall at the museum in Palenque, however they are not in their original proper order today. They do record the name Akul-Ah-Nab III.

This monument is one of the jambs that wasn't actually on the edge of the doors, but rather on the inner wall of Temple 18 (Fig.177) and it has an IS date of 9 (A3). 12 (B3). 6 (A4). 5 (B4). 8 (A5) 3 Lamat (B5) 6 Sak (A13). This also includes an 819 Day Count and Lunar Data

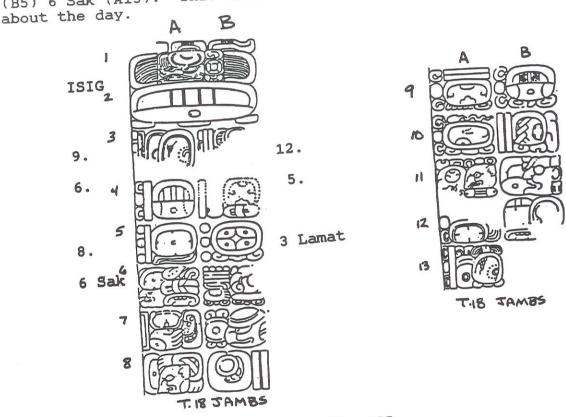


Fig. 177

The next passage (Fig.178) says that "he was born" ch'ok (B13) huh u nikil "the flower of" (A14) and here is the name of his father (B14 A15). Akul-Ah-Nab III is named then in this passage with his child name Ch'ok Huh or Sprout Iguana. That is in short why we argue that he is not in the formal royal line of Palenque because we do not pick up this character elsewhere other than in these stucco glyphs of this same temple. The father's name seems not to be mentioned in the earlier kings' history. This then was his birth date.

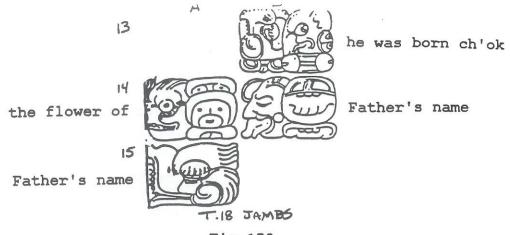
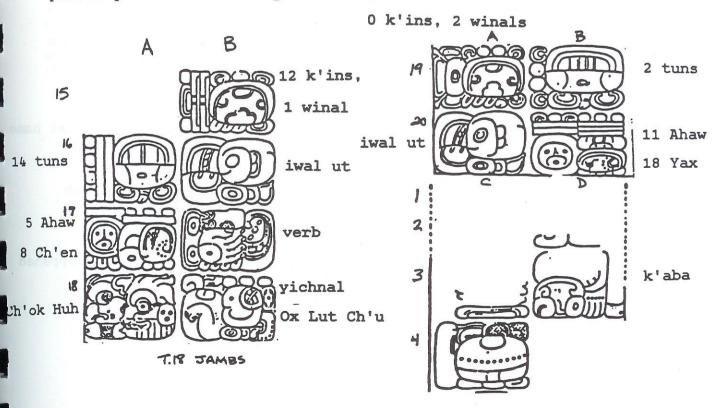


Fig. 178

We then get a DN of 12 k'ins, 1 winal (B15), and 14 tuns (A16) "and then it happened" (B16) 5 Ahaw 8 Ch'en (A17) and then we get the same deer-hoof event that we went over fast on the Palace Tablet which we are still not quite sure what it means (B17). Then we get the protagonist named as Ch'ok Huh (A18) followed by yichnal "in the company of" Ox Lut Ch'u or the Triad Gods (B18) (Fig.179). This happens then, when he is about 14 years old.

We then get a DN of 0 k'ins, 2 winals (A19), and 2 Tuns (B19) "and then it happened" (A20) 11 Ahaw 18 Yax (B20) or 9.13.2.9.0.
Unfortunately the bottom part of this jamb is broken off. What we can recognize for certain is this element here at (D3) which reads k'aba or something's "holy name." That is usually a part of the name of individual structures at Palenque as we have already seen. That would mean that here was probably the name of a particular structure (C3) and this could have been the dedication of the building (C2 D2), but given that this character is only about 15 years old at this stage, it's probably that he is doing something in this structure.



T.18 JAMBS

Fig. 179

In the beginning of the second column of text on the Temple 18 Jambs (Fig.180) we have a DN of 14 k'ins, 16 winals (D4), 3 tuns (C5), and 2 k'atuns (D5) since he was born (C6) and then he acceded (D6). So this is the interval between his birth and his accession and as you can see he is about 42 years old when he became the ruler.

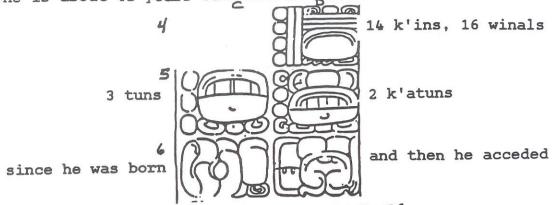


Fig. 180 TR JAMBS

In the next passage he will tie his own accession into the accession of the ancestral goddess of the Palenque Triad and the patron gods of Paler e (Fig.181). The DN is clearly outside historical bounds at leal for linking one individuals dates because we have 0 k'ins 12 winals (D7), 9 tuns (C8), 14 k'atuns (D8), and 7 Bak'tuns (C9). Following that we have "it had happened" (D9) and then this is the earlier date of 9 Ik' (C10) 0 Sak (D10) and here we have the accession verb written ahawyan (ah prefix, ahaw ya ni) (C11). Then we get the name of the great ancestral goddess (D11 C12) and then we get yitah "in the company of" (D12) and this name is probably for his daughter. Her name reads Lady Hun Te u wa (C13). We have gone back and forth with this name as to whether it might be the mother of Akul-Ah-Nab III or someone else. We are still not sure. The linking of this from the accession of the ancestral goddess took place (D13) in a supernatural location called Matawil (C14).

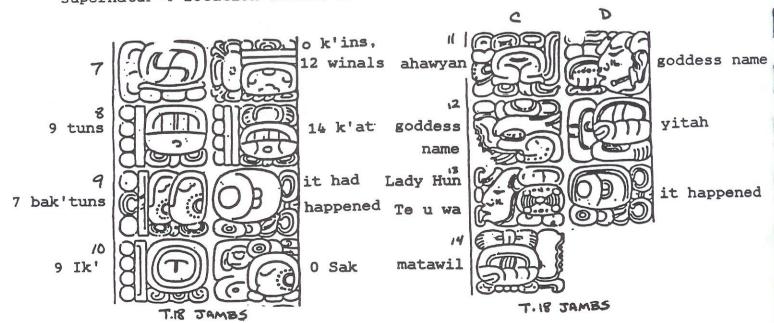
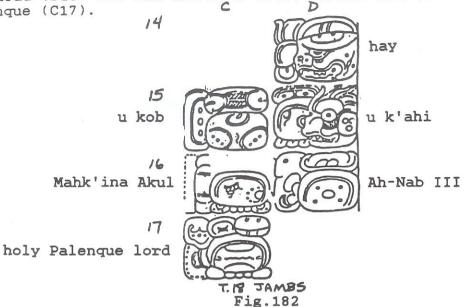


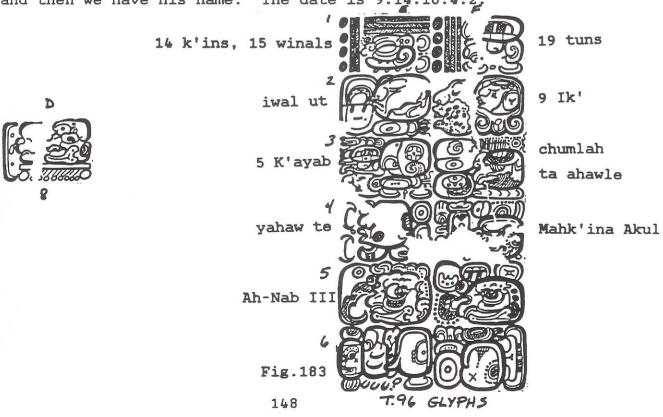
Fig. 181

The next passage (Fig.182) reads "he was compared to" hay u kob (D14 C15) u k'ahi "he caused it to be done" and the name has this iguana head (D15) and Mak'ina Akul (C16) Ah-Nab III (D16) the holy lord of Palenque (C17).



That means then, that we have his birth recorded. We also have a couple events recorded when he was about 13 and 15 years old. He have his accession on this date and then his accession is linked by this huge DN to the accession of the great ancestral goddess.

We have a couple of other references to the accession now (Fig.183 and Fig.184). This one on the Tablet of the 96 Glyphs (Fig.183) is linking the accession of Akul-Ah-Nab III whose name is here (F4 E5) as the holy lord of Palenque (F5) to the previous accession recorded for K'an-Hok'-Chitam II. The DN is 14 k'ins, 15 winals (E1), and 19 tuns (F1) "and then it happened" (E2) 9 Ik' (F2) 5 K'ayab (E3) chumlah ta ahawle "he was seated in reign as ahaw" (F3) Yahawte "Lord of the Tree" (E4) and then we have his name. The date is 9.14.10.4.2,



On the Tablet of Slaves (Fig. 184) there is another reference to this. Again, this is written in a very abreviated format. The Tablet of the Slaves is dealing with these earlier reigns because there is another person who is talked about for the most part. We have the same date recorded 9 Ik' 5 K'ayab (C1). This is the expression for the displaying of headband for him (A5). It reads " and then it was displayed, the headband for him' and here is his name Ak la ah nab or Akul-Ah-Nab III (B5).

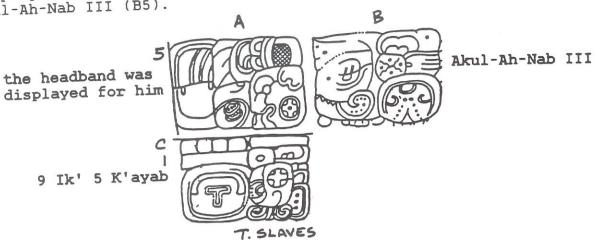
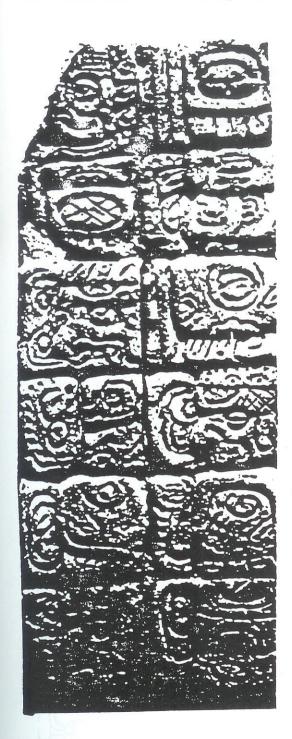
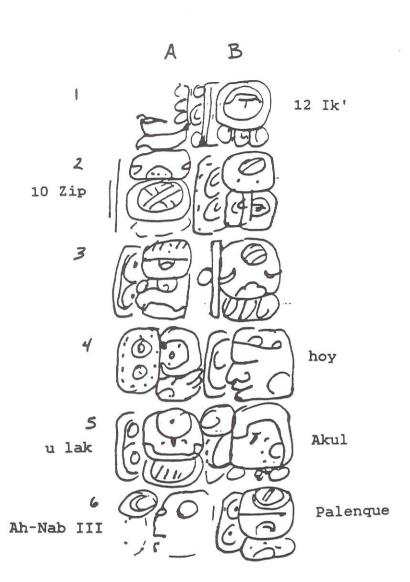


Fig. 184

(Linda Schele) Peter and I wrote the first paper on the Palenque dynasty. We did some work with the Tablet of the Slaves and at the time we thought that the ruler or the person who was shown on that tablet was the king named Chak-Zutz'. So in our king's list we included him as the successor and had Akul-Ah-Nab III in a very short reign. (Peter Mathews) I should add, that we did leave the door open Chak-Zutz' might not be a king. The main problem for us that he was born a little bit earlier that Akul-Ah-Nab III and that wouldn't have been the normal succession that you would have expected. At that time then, we just weren't sure what to do with Chak-Zutz'. (Linda Schele) Until recently, we could get Akul-Ah-Nab III past his accession, so we had no idea how long he reigned and then a couple of years ago, Nan Owen photographed a whole bunch of bricks that were found at the site of Comalcalco. She did a little project on these things and I saw a couple of them that had interesting things recorded on them. promptly after the Advanced Workshop, I forgot about them. You will see then some of the original photos and some of my original drawings of these bricks in the next several minutes. The first one here (Fig. 185) contains a date of 12 Ik' (B1) and 10 Zip (A2). I took that date a tried to figure out its most likely position and we found it to be 9.16.0.16.2. There is then some material in here that I am not sure of (B2-A4), but this here at B4 is clearly the God N verb which means that this is some kind of dedication probably read Hoy and this is u la ka (A5). Lak is the word for "plate" or it may even be the name for this brick. Here however, you can clearly see Ah Ku La (B5) and here is Ah and I suspect that the second sign reads nab (A6). This is his name Akul-Ah-Nab III and the last sign contains the main sign or the "bone" representing Palenque (B6). I then tried to take the CR and place it within his reign and the only place that it occurs within his reign is on this date of 9.16.0.16.2 12 IK' 10 Zip. That is really important because that is less than 13 years before the accession of the next ruler. There is a 30 years gap between Akul-Ah-Nab III and K'uk'-Balam Twenty years of that 30 year gap has just disappeared because of this Comalcalco brick. Beyond that, what does this imply?

Comalcalco is putting Akul-Ah-Nab III as the actor in the dedication it implies that it is somehow deeply associated or allied to if not under the control of Palenque. We have never been able to extend Akul-Ah-Nab III that far out during the reign.

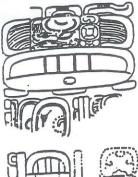


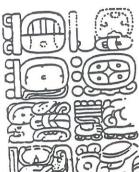


## Comalcalco Brick M 3

Fig. 185

# Akul-Ah Nab III





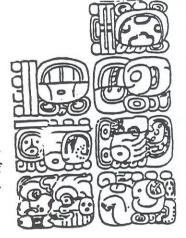


T. 18 jambs

Akul was not the son of the previous king, but of a man named Batz'-Chan-Mat. Akul, nevertheless, took a name from the ancestral king list and appears to have been treated like a member of the royal family. One of the alfardas from Temple 21 name him as a ch'ok.

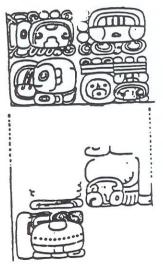
He was born on 9.12.6.5.8 3 lamat 6 Sak (Sep. 16, 678) when Pakal was still the king.

At age 13, Akul underwent the same deerhoof event as K'an-Hok'-Chitam had before him. This text says that Akul was "in the company of" Ox Lut Ch'u, the Maya way of saying the Triad Gods.



Akul is named by his child name—Ch'ok Huh, the Sprout Iguana.

Akul also participated in an event on 9.13.2.9.0 11 Ahaw 18 Yax (Sep. 4, 694). The verb is missing, but the last two glyphs are ch'ul k'aba and something that looks like it might be pitz. It was probably a building dedication.



## Akul-Ah Nab III (cont)



We don't know Akul's lineage descent, but when he recorded his accession, he linked it by a contrived number to the accession of First Mother. We always found it interesting that the date for First Mother's accesion is in error on the TC, but we also know that they caught the error, for they corrected it in the very next phrase. Akul's scribes used the incorrect date that that was written rather than the corrected position. Since his emphasis on First Mother parallels the strategy of Kan-Balam on the TC, we suspect that he too may have achieved the throne through descent on his mother's side.

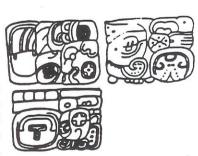
His accession was on 9.14.10.4.2 9 lk' 5 K'ayab (Jan. 3, 722).

Tablet of the 96 glyphs

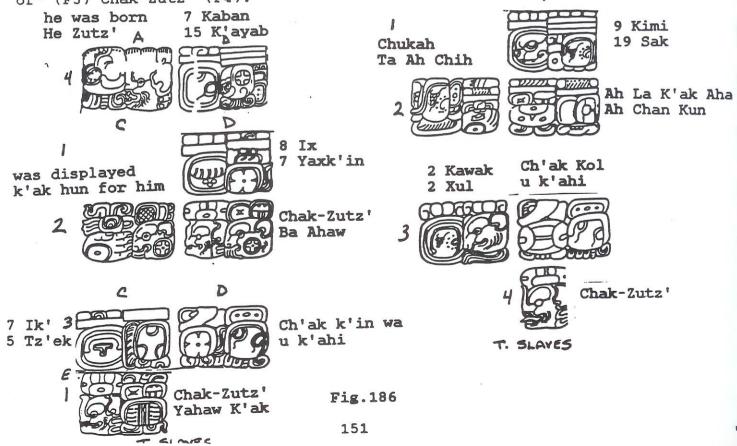
Akul's accession is also recorded on the Tablet of the 96 Glyphs. Here we learn that like K'an-Hok-Chitam, he was seated in the Sak-Nuk-Na. Interestingly, a painted text on the medial molding above the Oval Palace Tablet records his accession, as does the throne that sat in front of it.



Akul's accession also is recorded on the Tablet of the Slaves. The expression is the display of the head band. His name has the most interesting version of all its examples in this phrase. The Akul part is written with the turtle head from the turtle that cracked open to allow the rebirth of the Maize God.



We are going to look at the events that are recorded on the Tablet of the Slaves which was found in an outlying group. We now know that this outlyer is the home of a sahal who was the head of a very important lineage, but he was not the king. The first event (Fig. 186) that we get with him states that "he was born" sihi and his name is recorded in the second part of the glyph with a he over the Zutz' sign (A4). This shows up in at least three other places where we have he over his birth name. We are then given that he was born on 7 Kaban 15 K'ayab (B4) and that date is 9.11.18.9.17. This is before Akul-Ah-Nab III was born and during the reign of Pakal II. Then we get the day 8 Ix 7 Yaxk'in (D1) or 9.14.11.12.14 followed by the same event that we've seen happen with the kings that concerns something "displayed" the k'ak hun "the fire headdress" tu ba "for him" (C2) Chak-Zutz' and here is the Ba Ahaw (D2). He is not only only the sahal, but he is also the "First Lord of the Kingdom." Then we are given the day 7 Ik' 5 Tz'ek (C3) followed by Ch'ak "was damaged" and I'm not sure of its reading, but it seems to be k'in followed by a wa suffix for some other toponym in the area followed by by u k'ahi "by the action of" (D3) Chak-Zutz' and now we understand why the fire sign is in his headdress. This is because he is the Yahaw K'ak which means that he is the "Lord of Fire or the Lord of Smoke" (E1). Maybe he controls the fire drilling or the inscense ceremonies. Then we are given the day 9 Kimi 19 Sak (F1) and that has the LC of 9.14.11.17.6. The verb is chukah "was captured." Then we have the name of the person who was captured. It seems to be Ta Ah Chih (E2) and he is also the Ah La K'ak Ahaw (this is a toponym mentioned at Bonampak in caption 8 of Room 2) Ah Chan Kun and I think he is "of the sky seat." Then we go to the event which was on 2 Kawak 2 Xul (E3) or 9.14.17.12.19 and what we have here is the verb Ch'ak for "destruction" and the place that seems to have been destroyed is a place called Kol and then we have u ka'hi "by the action of" (F3) Chak-Zutz' (F4).



We now come to the day 7 Imix (F4) (Fig.187) 4 Keh and this LC is 9.14.18.1.1 and the event is unreadable (F5). This is ah tun pitzil or "He of the stone ballcourt" Chan Ahaw "Four Lord" (G1) Wak Ahaw "Six Lord" and he is a ya ha k'u na or Yahk'una "administrator" (H1) Chak-Zutz', the Sahal "One who makes fear" (G2). This passage seems to tell us that Chak-Zutz' has four guys on one hand and six guys on the other hand that administer under him and they have something to do with the stone ballcourt.

The last passage begins with a DN of 8 te hun tun or 1 tun and 8 k'ins (H2) and then the day 4 Ahaw 13 Yax (G3) or 9.15.0.0.0 which is the tun seating and the date here is 5 Lamat (H2) 6 Wo or 9.14.18.9.8 and this is a verb which means to dedicate a house by probably putting in a lak "plate" into a cache (G4). This then, was the cache of the Accession House or Group IV where the tablet was set. Then we have bolon "9" k'ins later (H4) ended, 3 ka'tuns on 1 Kaban (G5) 15 Wo, Ta Hun which was his 60th birthday (H5).

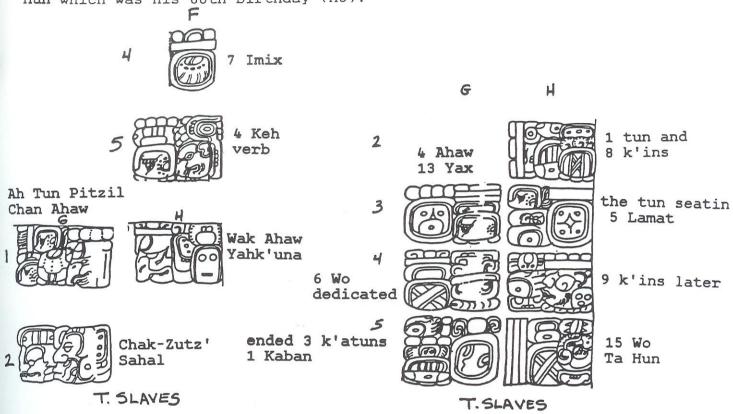


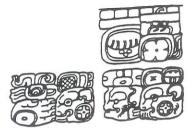
Fig. 187

## Chak-Zutz', the Sahal

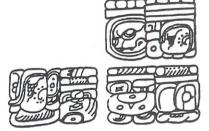
Chak-Zutz' was a sahal, who lived in Group IV, to the west of the sacred precinct of Palenque. He served as a very high official, who may have been a war chief.



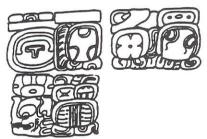
He was born on 9.11.18.9.17 7 Kaban 15 K'ayab (Jan. 25, 671)



He acceded on 9.14.11.12.14 8 Ix 7 Yax (Jun. 19, 723). The headband that was displayed for him is called the *K'ak' Hun*, "Fire (or perhaps Smoke) Headband." He carries the title *ba ahaw*, "first lord."



On 9.14.11.17.6 9 Kimi 19 Sak (Sep. 19, 723), he captured someone hand Ah Chih. This capture was 92 days after he got his headdress.



The date is 9.14.13.11.2 7 lk' 5 Tz'ek (May 7, 725). The event is *ch'ak*, "to decapitate and to damage." The place attacked is written as K'in and the phrase ends with *u kahiy Chak-Zutz'*, "he caused it, Chak-Zutz', who is called *yahaw k'ak'*, "lord of fire."



On 9.14.17.12.19 2 Kawak 2 Xul (May 23, 729), Chak-Zutz' led another raid apparently against a place called Kol.

On 9.14.18.1.1. 7 Imix 4 Keh (Sep. 22, 729) he conducted another action, but we have not yet been able to decipher the verb. It includes a te sign and hi, but the other signs are unique to this example. The verb is followed by a series of glyphs that appear to be titels: ah tun pitz ("He of the Stone ballgame"), chan ahaw, wak ahaw ("4 lord, 6 lord"), and hun k'al ??-na

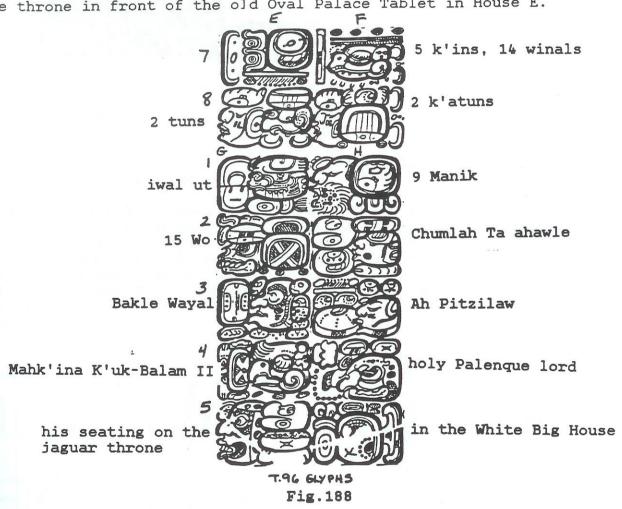
("20 ????").

Finally, his name is followed by sahal, marking him as a "Feared One," and a subordinate of the king.

The final passage concerns events on 9.14.18.9.8 5 Lama 6 Wo, when Chak-Zutz' dedicated an accession house, that was surely the building in Group IV where this panel was found. Nine days later, Chak-Zutz' celebrated the completion of the third k'atun since his birth.

#### K'UK'-BALAM II

(Peter Mathews) Okay, this is the person who had the Tablet of the 96 Glyphs carved and the final part of this text talks about him having led up to the accession records of the other various kings. It then jumps into his own accession here (Fig.188). The DN at the beginning links the accession of Akul-Ah-Nab III by a DN of 5 k'ins, 14 winals (F7), 2 tuns (E8), and 2 k'atuns (F8) "and then it happened" (G1) 9 Manik (H1) 15 Wo (G2) Chum lah "He was seated" Ta Ahaw Le "as lord or in the ahawship" (H2) Bakle Wayal (G3) Ah Pitzilaw "He the Ballplayer" (H3) Mak'ina K'uk'-Balam II (G4) the holy lord of Palenque (H4) followed by a phrase that states it was "his seating on the jaguar throne" (G5) took place in the Sak Nuk Na or in the "White Big House" (H5). This tells us too that the accession is still taking place on the throne in front of the old Oval Palace Tablet in House E.



The next passage begins with a DN of just 1 ka'tun (H6) "and then it happened" (G7) 7 Manik (H7) 0 Pax (G8) and that was the completion of (H8) the first k'atun (I1) ta ahaw le "in the ahawship" (J1) of Bakle Wayal (I2) Ah Pitzilaw "he the Ballplayer" (J2) Yahaw te (I3) Mak'ina K'uk'-Balam II (J3) followed by two more titles (I4 J4) with the last one calling him a Bakab.

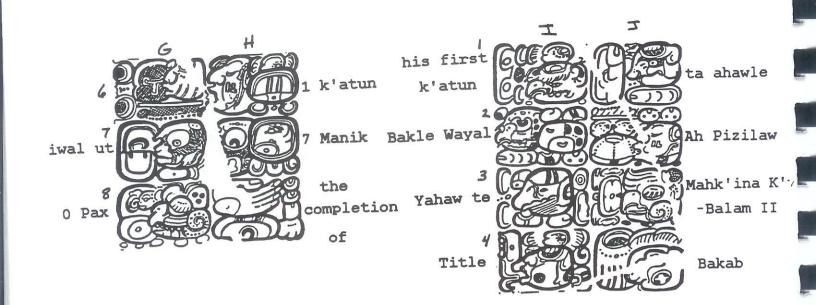


Fig. 189

The accession date of 9 Manik 15 Wo in the LC is 9.16.13.0.7 and if we add 1 k'atun as the DN for the next passage we will arrive at the LC of 9.17.13.0.7.

We do in fact have a portrait of K'uk'-Balam II (Fig.190) from a now faded mural on the southwest side of the central wall of House C. Here he is (center figure) in an reasonably standard accession reference that has a male and a female offering objects. He is seated on a throne. The reason why we think this is him is because there is an event referred to here with the flat hand and the glyph below it has just enough remaining to let you know that this was K'uk'-Balam II.



Palenque House C Mural

### K'uk'-Balam II



There is a thirty year gap between the last date in Chak-Zutz's text and the accession of this king. We think this is an accident of arcaheology and hope that the new excavations will find texts from this gap. K'uk'-Balam acceded on 9.16.13.0.7 9 Manik' 15 Wo (Mar. 4, 764). His names include a series of important titles shared with many of the earlier kings: Baklel Way ("Bone Way"), Ah Pitzlawal ("Ballplayer"), Yahaw Te' ("Tree Lord"). As with K'an-Hok'-Chitam and Akul-Ah Nab, K'uk'-Balam acceded in the Sak-Nuk-Na.

K'uk'-Balam commissioned the Tablet of the 96 Glyphs to celebrate his first k'atun of reign. We have not included the full statement here, but he acknowledges in this passage that he is the child of Akul-Ah Nab. The finished tablet was set in the lowest step of the stairs on the south side of the Tower. For our part, we consider K'uk'-Balam to have been one of the great Maya patrons, for the Tablet of the 96 Glyphs is one of the most beautiful objects known from the Americas. It is small, but absolutely exquisite.



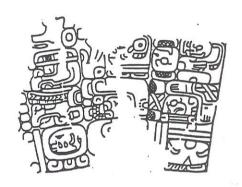
Our last suggestion is highly speculative but worth bringing up. A now-faded mural can be found on the southwestern side of the central wall of House C. The scene shows a befeathered ruler seated on a bench or pyramid terrace above a male and female who are offering him plates of now lost objects. The woman is dressed in the net overskirt and cape that marks First Mother and First Father. Most importantly, the women in the tri-figure panels at Palenque show the woman dressed in this same costume—perhaps because the king's mother and father are avatars of First Mother and First Father. This mural scene very likely represents an accession. A few fragments of the text have survived from the rightmost text. It has a flathand verb followed by a bird head with a jaguar ear. Take a look at K'uk'-Balam's name in the righthand text above. It has the same smooth crest line, the smae bird ear, and the jaguar ear. We think the two glyphs were probably the same.

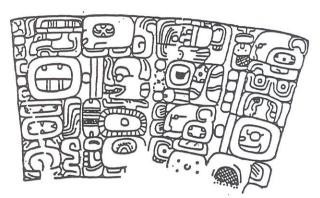


Palenque House C Mural

#### 6 KIMI-HANAB-PAKAL

(Linda Schele) Now this was, until this morning, the last king of Palenque (Fig. 191). This inscription was found on maybe the piece of art that has had the worst luck of any at Palenque. It was found back in the late 1940's in a tomb under the floor of Group II. inscription is on a very fine black clay and these glyphs are incised on both sides. It has what people would call generally a Teotihuacan form. I don't accept it as a Teotihuacan form at all. It's a cylinder that had little feet around it and I'm not sure if it ever had a top. Petrographically the clay looks good, but chemically is it different from any others. According to Robert Rands there is residue from decayed plants in the clay which could have come from ash, but they have assumed in the past that generally they are deposited in the clay banks from water run-off and he decaying plants are out. Robert believes that these point more towards grass, so he has always presumed that these come from the plain out in front of Palenque. It looks good petrographically, by when they use neutron-activation chemistry i doesn't fit anything they have. So this pot fragment is a wild car that came from nowhere and this is fine because this is what the t says too.



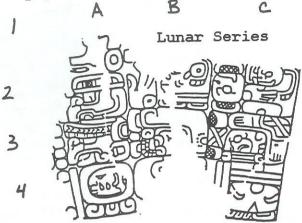


### Palenque Bowl I.S. Pot

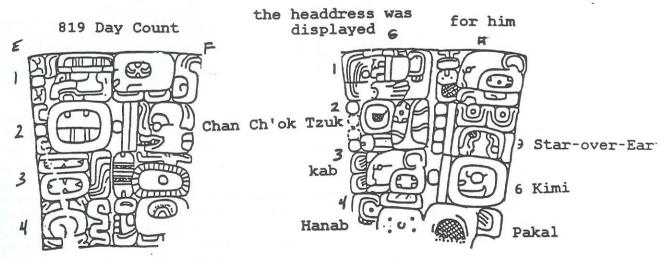
#### Fig. 191

This is one side of the pot (left portion of figure) which was partially destroyed and part of it is missing, but we can recover enough to get the date. You have a LC that occupied the first two columns. You had the Lunar Series that went to this part here (C1-C4) and then you have a DN here (C4) that leads back to the setting of the 819 Day Count (E1-F4) quadrant. The date, when you put it all together is 9.18.9.4.4 7 K'an 17 Muwan. Then we have a verb that reads iwal "and then" and here' the flat hand, the Jester God with the Knot probably read hun and followed by a verbal suffix (G1). This essentially states "was displayed, the headdress" followed by tu ba "for him" (H1). The next glyph contains a 4, an eye for the ch'ok, the phonetic compliment ko, and lastly tzuk meaning "partition" (G2). This then reads Chan Ch'ok Tzuk and so he is the Lord of the Four Sprout Partitions of the World. We have this title all over the place at Copan. Then we have bolon "9" Star-over-Earth glyph (H2) and this particular glyph is the glyph on the bundles of the gods on the Pot of the Seven Gods in the Creation scene. We next have the word for "earth" spelled out phonetically ka ba (G3). This is followed by Wak

"6" Kimi (H3) and that has to be the first part of his name. It's the calendric name that I know about in the Classic Period except for maybe one exception in a captive. The fact that he has a calendric name tells me right away that we are dealing with a group of people that have influence in on them from the outside. I suspect that this was done by a group of people who were sitting on the plain out there in front of Palenque and they are in contact with central Mexicans or people from the western part of Mesoamerica and they are beginning to pick up the calendric names system that is so prevalent on that side of Mesoamerica. However, he also uses the standard name of Hanab (G4) Pakal (H4), so this guy's name is 6 Kimi-Hanab-Pakal.



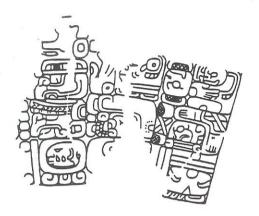
### Palenque Bowl I.S. Pot

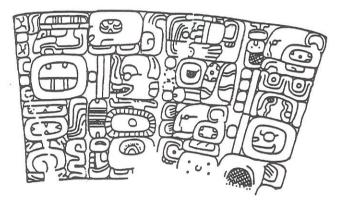


Palenque Bowl I.S. Pot

Fig. 192

## 6-Kimi-Hanab-Pakal



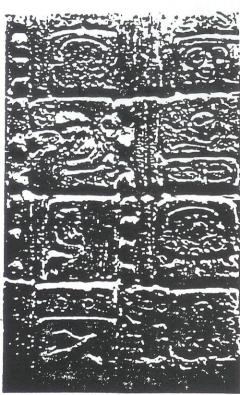


### Palenque Bowl I.S. Pot

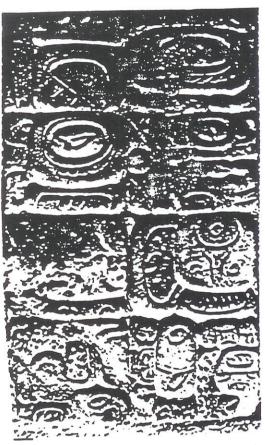
The last recorded king of Palenque must have been a relatively minor player because the text recording his name and accession comes from a blackware carved vase found in a subfloor tomb in Group II. The text has the long count date, 9.18.9.4.4 7 K'an 17 Muwan (Nov. 17, 799). The date has a lunar series and 819-day count notation, and it corresponds to the heliacal rising of the Evening Star. The verb has the *iwal* prefix in front of the flathand verb. The Sak Hun had the headbead wound around the Jester God in the form of the *hok'* bundle. Tu bah follows to mark that the displaying of the headband was done "for him. His name echoes the venus association. It has chan ch'ok tzuk, "four sprout participation," and a 9-Star-over-Earth glyph that also occurs on the Pot of the Seven Gods. "Earth" is apparently intended for the next glyph is phonetic ka-ba for kab, "earth." The king's name 1s unusual for it is one of two we know of from the Classic period that has a calendric component (the other is on Piedras Negras Lintel 2 with the Yaxchilan lord). This king was Wak-Kimi-Hanab-Pakal, "6 Kimi-Flower-Shield." This useage may reflect the influence of the Mexican-style naming system on the people of the Tabasco swamps, for Robert Rands (personal communication, 1975) told me that the clay in this pot has mineral components that can only come from the grasslands to the north of Palenque. We suspect this very late king may have been a very early Putun.

### THE LAST RULER OF PALENQUE

That then, was the guy we thought was the last king of Palenque. Whenever you hear people talking about this you will hear that Palenque ended at this time, which was in 799. However, there is a little ringer to this mess now. This again comes from Nan Owen for allowing me to see the photos of the bricks from Comalcalco (Fig.193).



Comalcalco Brick M



Comalcalco Brick M 2

Fig. 193

As you can tell from the photo as well as my drawing (Fig. 194) this is the bone of the Palenque EG (D4) with the ch'ul and the ahpo. This tells us that the person we are talking about here is a holy lord of Palenque. Now Palenque should not have existed by now according to the information that we've gone on before. Then we have K'ina and this is a K'an sign with a la or a li under it, but I think that this is just the Ol name that we've seen in Lady Ol-Nal's name and in Ak-Ne-Ol-Mat's name being called up again (first half of D4). Here is the hoy "was dedicated" (C3) and here is the u lak (D3). The next glyph could be tzuk (C4). Then we have up at the top a clear LC date of 9 (A1). 19 (B1). 3 (A2). 13 (B2). 12 (A3) 9 Eb (B3) 10 Sip (A4). That places this clearly 13 full years after that 799 date and so now we have evidence that at least up until this date (about 815) Palenque is still carrying on. I suspect that the ending of Palenque's existence around 799 may have just been an artifact of the archaeology and the fact that we do not have good regional information for this area of Chiapas which may have collapsed at about the same time as the center of the Usumacinta which is around 10.0.0.0.0.

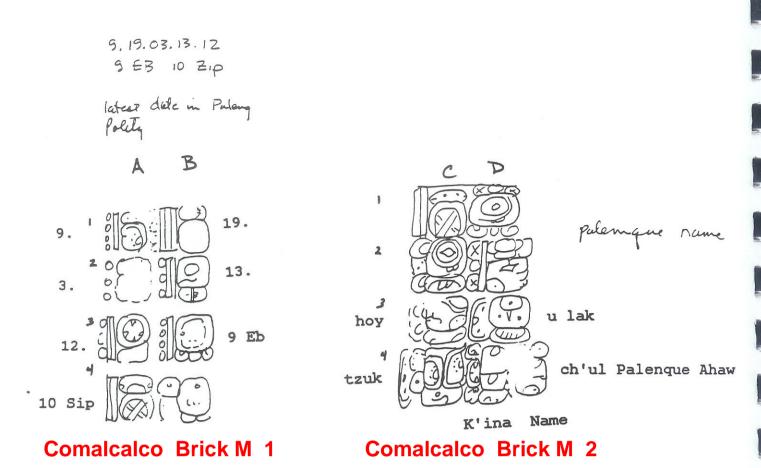


Fig. 194

(Question: Why are these glyphs at Comalcalco and what is you're read on that? Since we have the example of Akul-Ah-Nab III referred to on one of these bricks when he is in office at Palenque, so if you want to say that Palenque collapsed and they retreated to Comalcalco then you would have to say that they retreated and began to record their names on bricks. I think that it is far more likely that there is still somebody at Palenque and perhaps Comalcalco is either alive or a part of that polity. This is the more logical thing to say.

These bricks were found at Comalcalco under a path of concrete that was used to keep tourists' feet from getting wet. That path had a low spot so the workers went out a broken it up and under it were two bricks ceremoniously buried on shells. The other brick was found in a temple at the foot of the person buried there in a great big pot with a hole in the top.

### A SPECIAL THANKS TO FLOYD AND MERLE

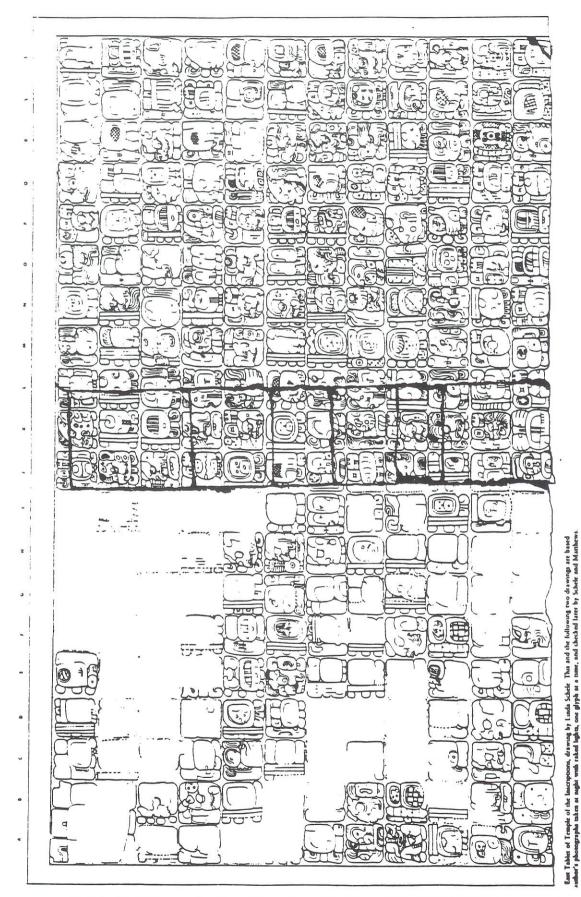
(Peter Mathews) I actually haven't had a chance to say anything in honor of Floyd or Merle yet. I guess I will start with an autobiograpy. I really have Dave Kelley to thank for this in the first instance because I was actually going to go into underwater archaeology in Australia the year of the first Mesa Redonda. I just about lined up a job digging up an old Dutch 17th century wrecks off western Australia, which is the Great White Shark territory. Many of which, you this weekend wish I had actually done! Anyway, I was offered a scholarship at Calgary for the succeeding year after having arranged to take a year off. This was to coincide with Dave's sabatical, while he was in Cambridge, which is why he didn't make it to the first Mesa Redonda. I called up Calgary and asked if I could get this scholarship deferred and they said no. I ended up going back not to do the underwater archaeology and upon arriving at Calgary they asked why I was here because the scholarship had been deferred. Anyway, I was already there and I couldn't get back to Australia so I stayed. It was during that term that Merle, having consulted with Mike Coe, Betty Benson, Linda, and Gillete wrote to Dave Kelley and asked if he could come to the first Mesa Redonda. Dave wrote back, bless him, saying that he couldn't, but asked if I could go in his place. That then, is how I got invited and got to meet these wonderful people including Floyd, Mike Coe, and Merle. I feel greatly honored and absolutely overwelmed that I am a student of both Dave Kelley and of Floyd Lounsbury. I only wish that there could have been hundreds more. sure that Dave and Floyd are very glad that there wasn't a hundred more! I feel very honored that I am, so in honor, I would like to bow to Merle, Floyd, and to Dave. (Applause)

Floyd Lounsbury says here: "This is more than I deserve."

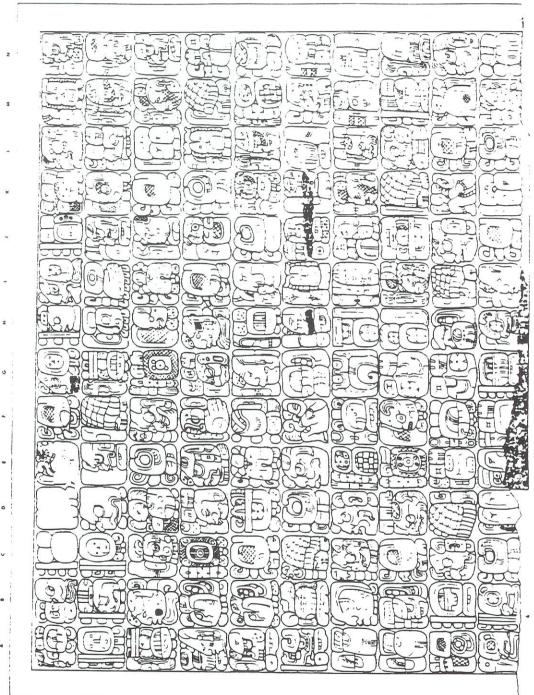
Merle Greene Robertson says here: "I have been overwelmed at the whole thing and I can't thank both you, Linda and Peter, and everyone else for being here and making it such a wonderful occassion. Thank all of you especially you: Linda and Peter."

END OF DAY TWO 4:55 P.M.

#### THE PRIMARY INSCRIPTIONS OF PALENQUE

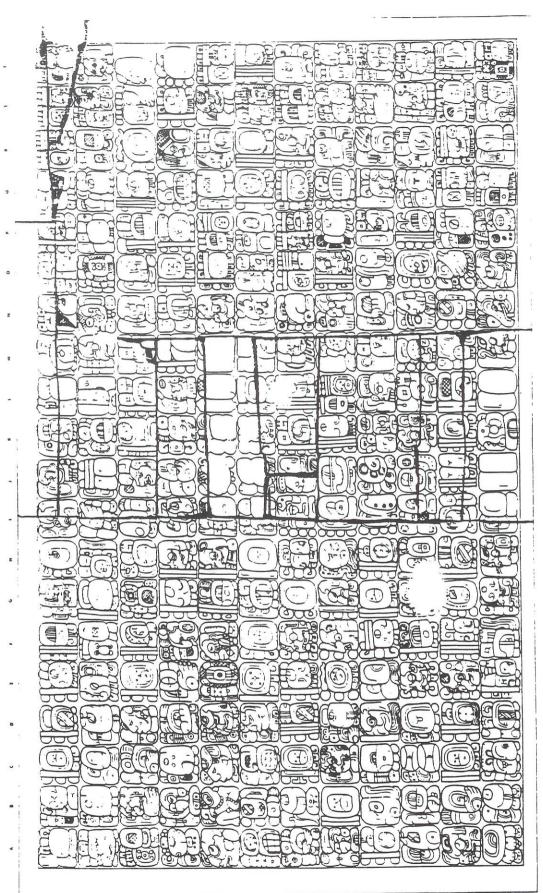


East Tablet of the Temple of the Inscriptions



Center Tablet of Temple of the Inscriptions, drawing by Linda Schele.

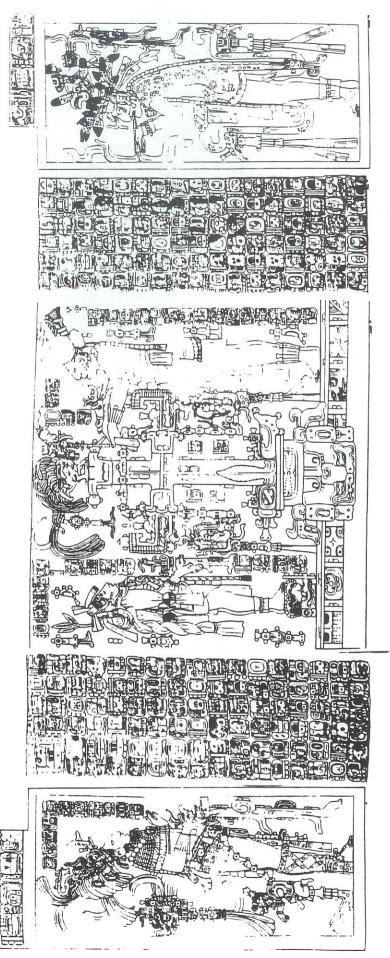
Center Tablet of the Temple of the Inscriptions



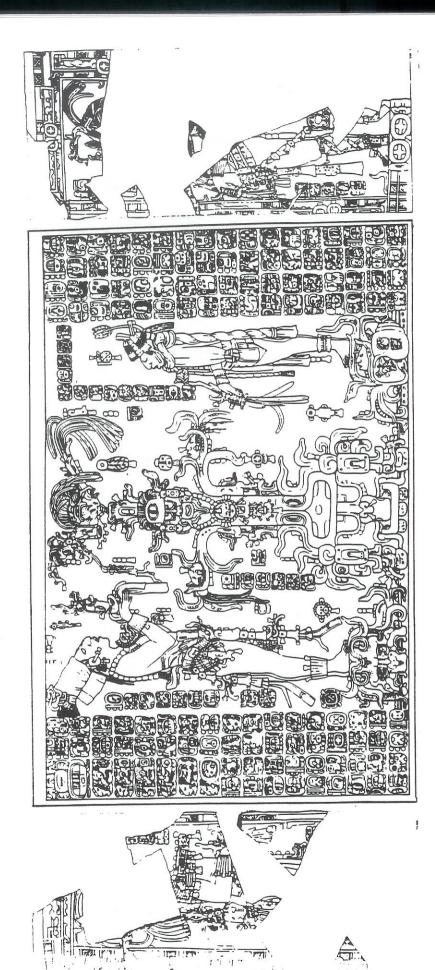
West Tablet of Temple of the Inacriptions, deawing by Linda Schele

2

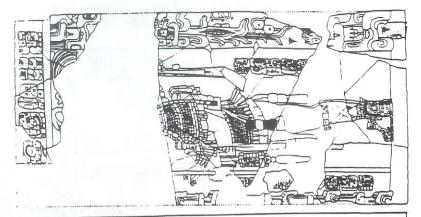
West Tablet of the Temple of the Inscriptions

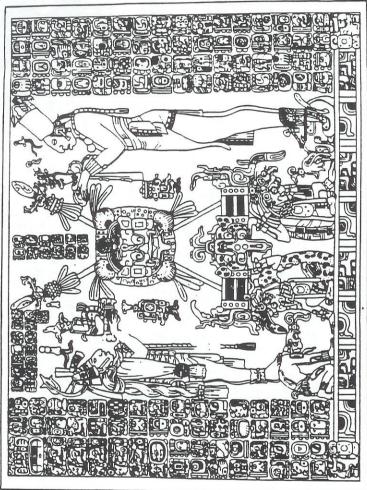


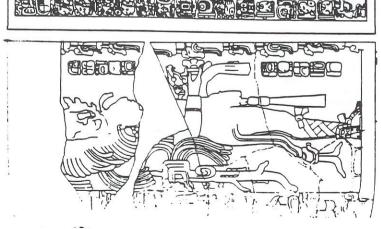
The Tablet of the Cross



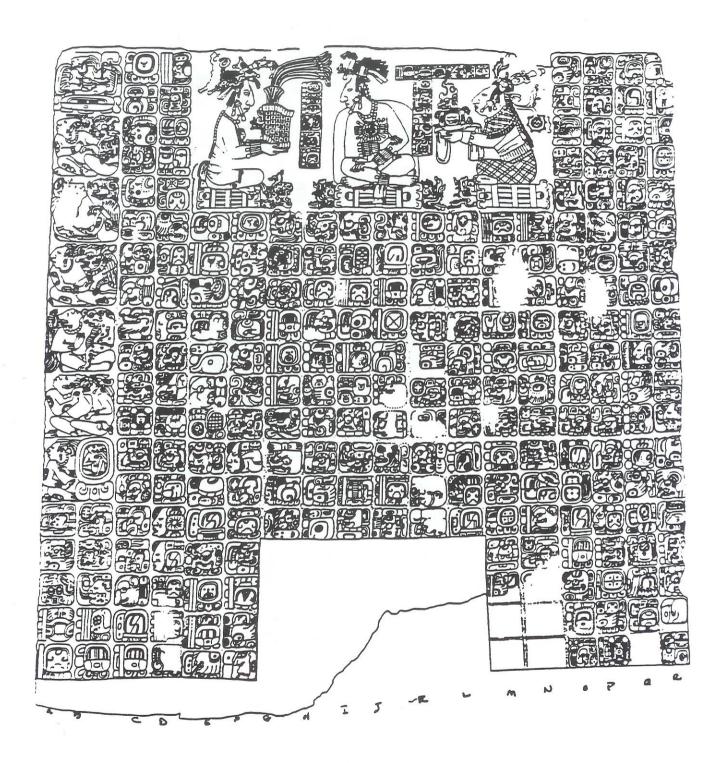
The Tablet of the Foliated Cross







The Tablet of the Sun

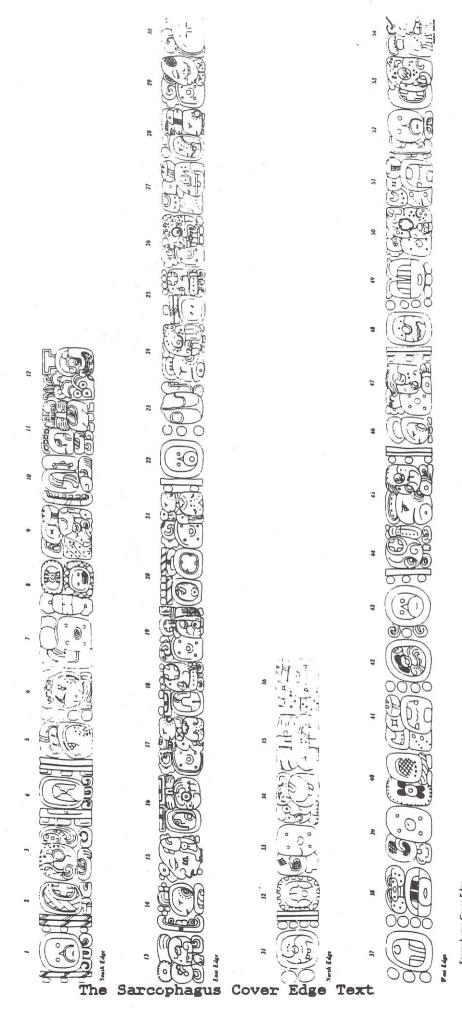


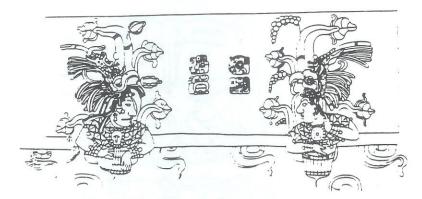
The Palace Tablet



The Sarcophagus Cover

PERLE GREENS 75

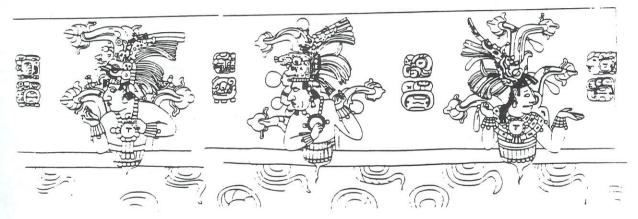




174. Sarcophagus, North End.



175. Sarcophagus, South End.

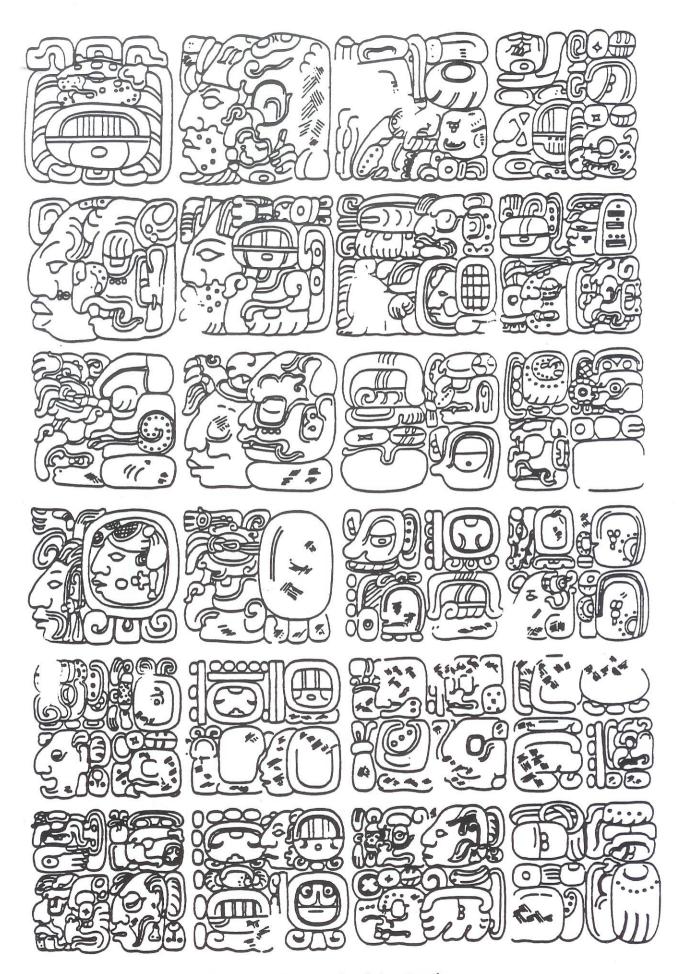


176. Sarcophagus, East Side.

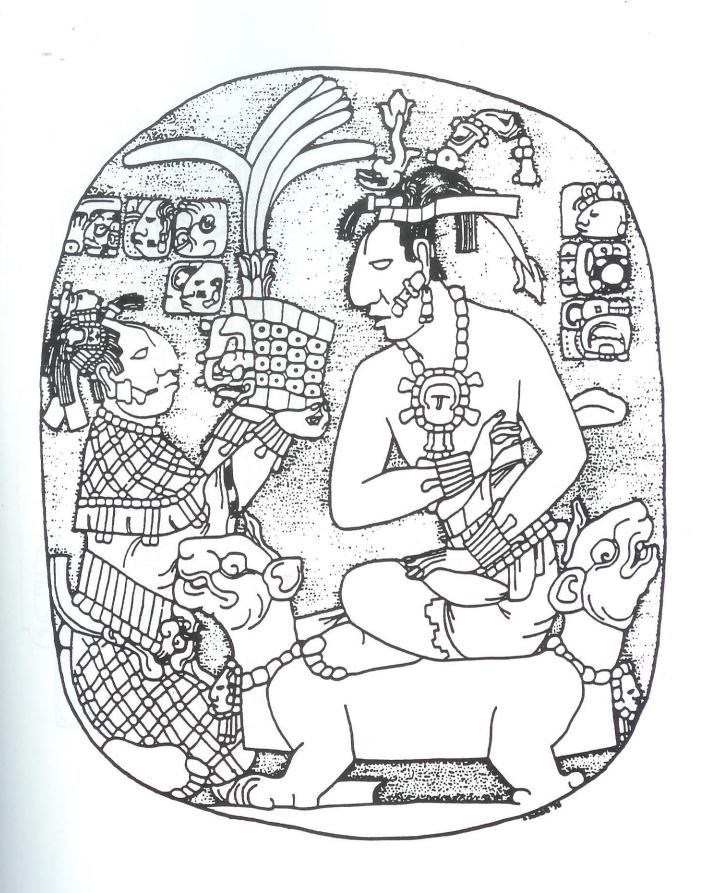


177. Sarcophagus, West Side.

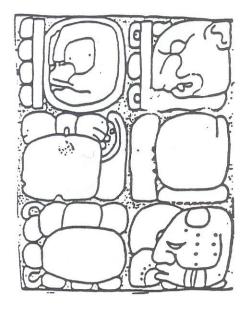
The Sarcophagus Side Portraits

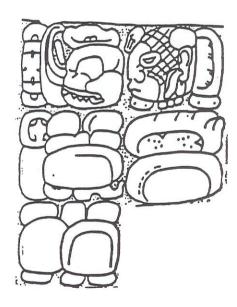


House C Hieroglyphic Stairs

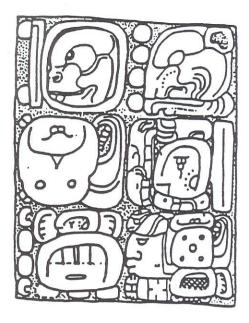


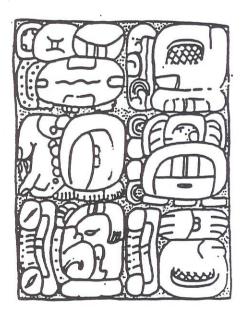
The Oval Palace Tablet



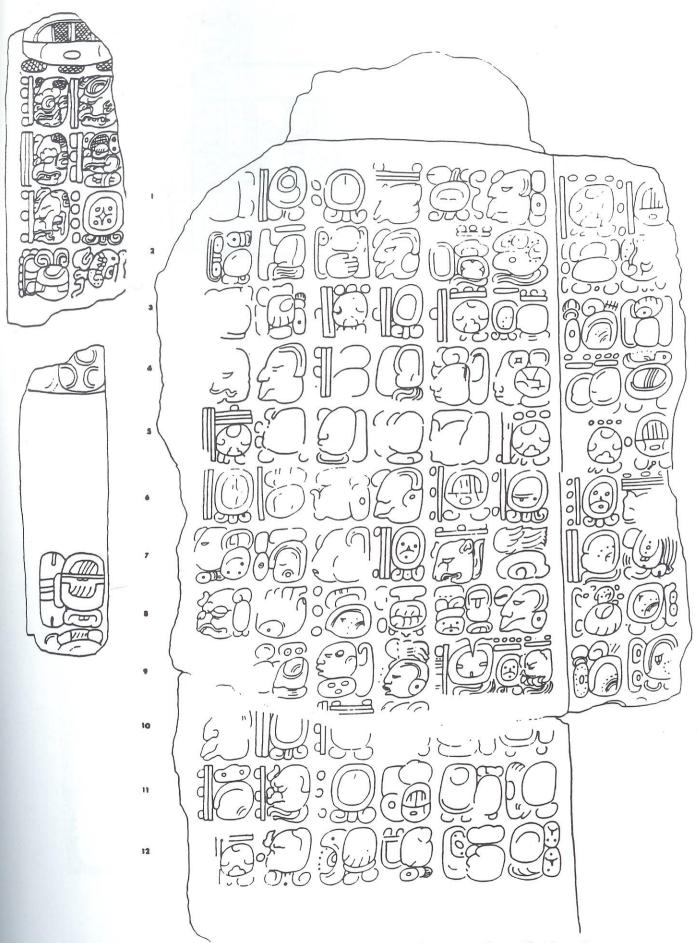


Palenque Tableritos A

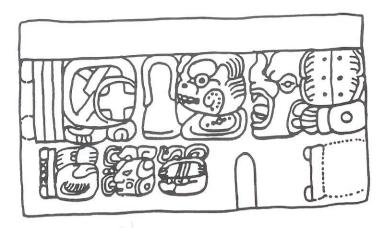


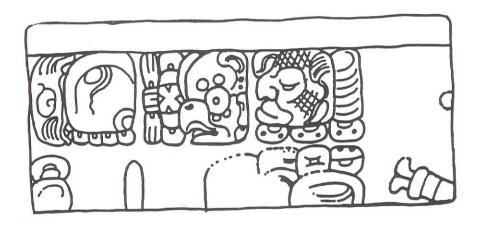


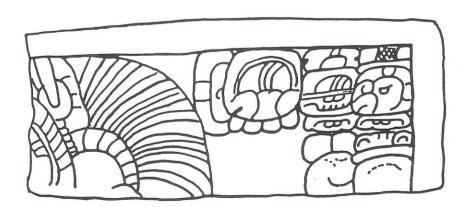
Palenque Tableritos C



Stone Incensario Fragment From The Temple of the Cross Palenque Incensario B 281

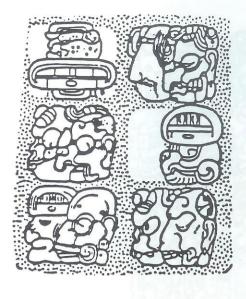


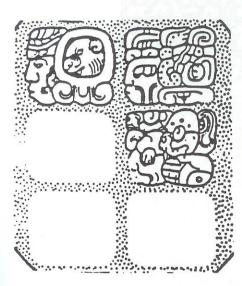


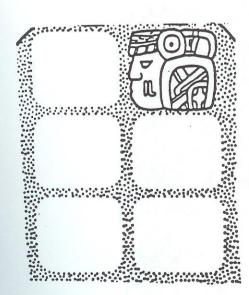


# Palenque Temple 04 Blocks

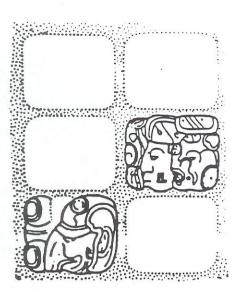
Fragments From the Temple of the Cross

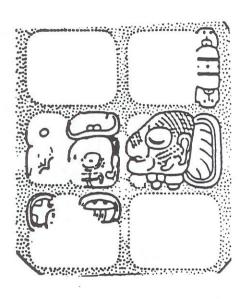


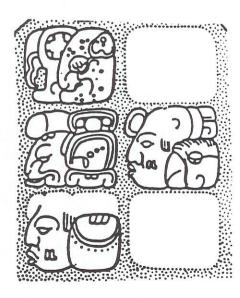




PAL Olvidado Pier A

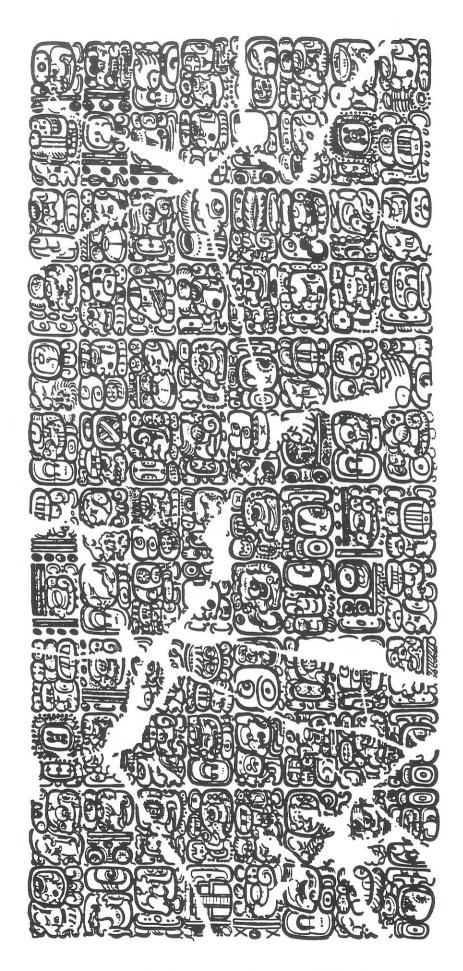




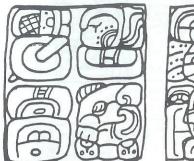


**PAL Olvidado Pier D** 

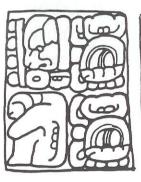
The Inscriptions From The Temple Olvidado



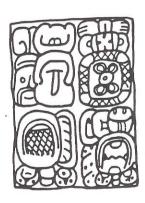
The Tablet of the 96 Glyphs







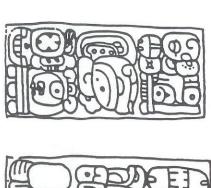


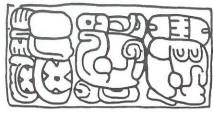


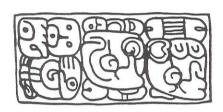


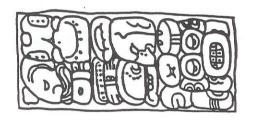
# Palenque House C Eaves

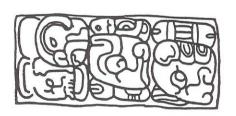
The Eves of House C

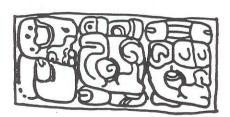


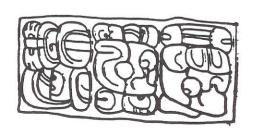






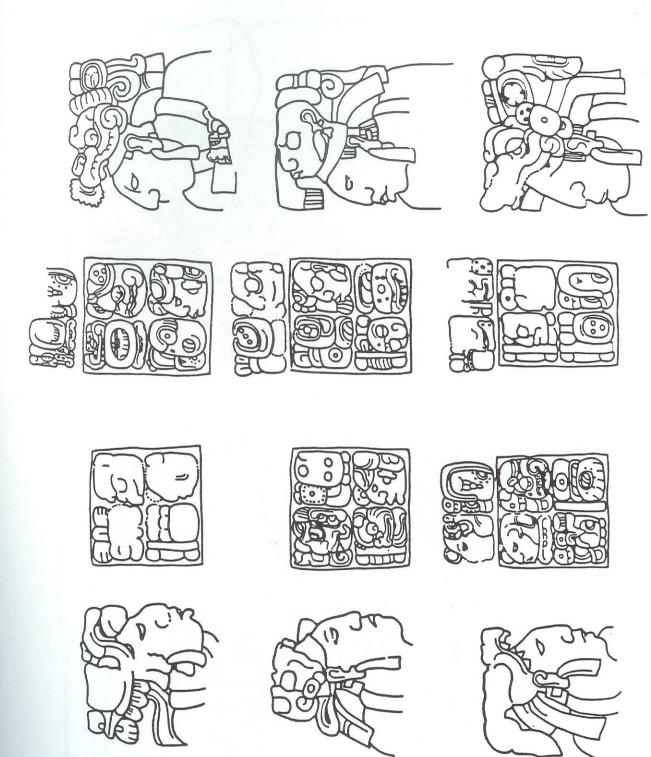




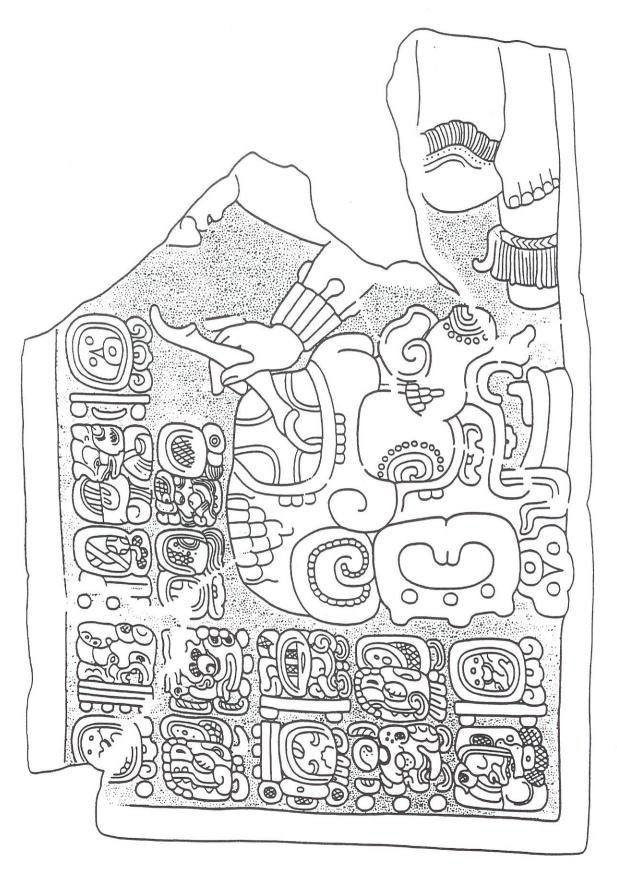


The Panels of House A

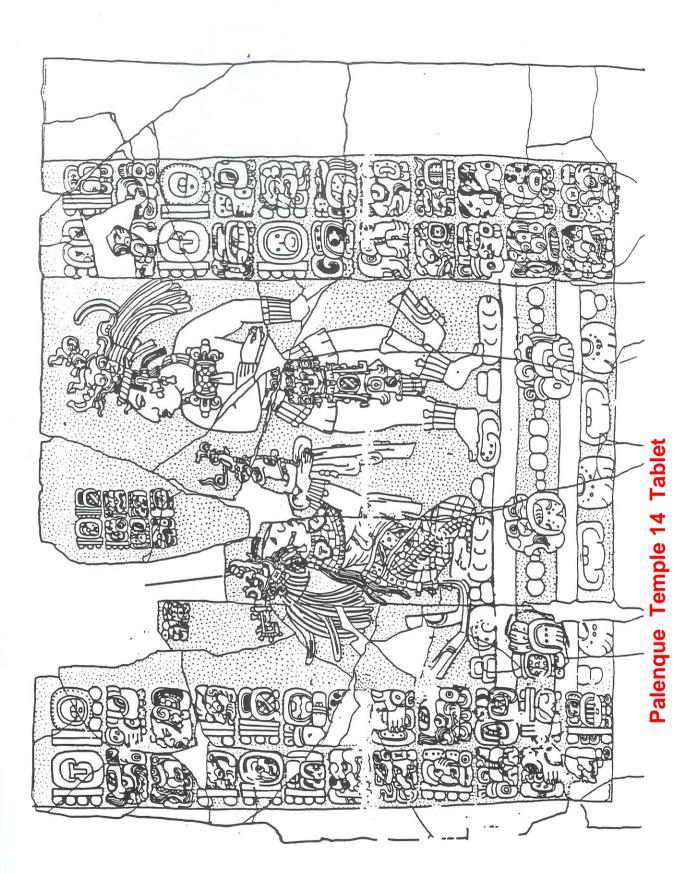
Palenque House C Lower West



The Lower Panels of House C



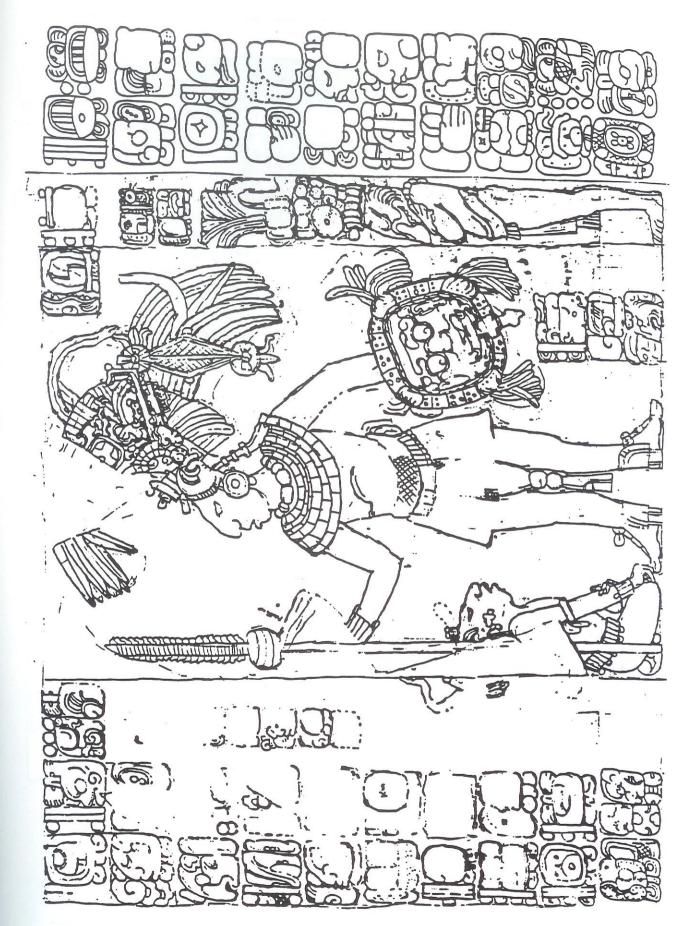
The Emiliano Zapata Panel



The Temple 14 Panel



**Tonina Monument 122** 

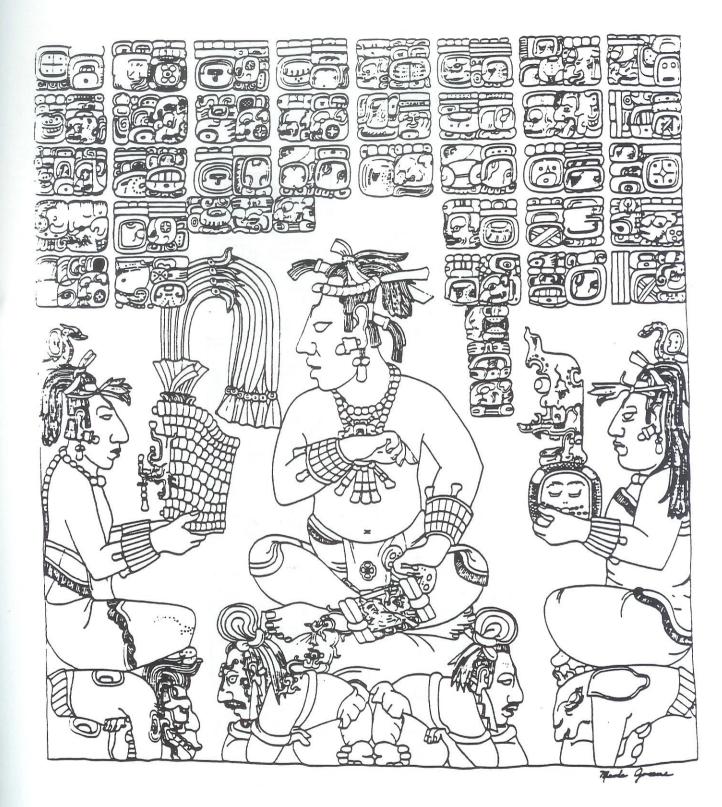


A Looted Panel From Palenque



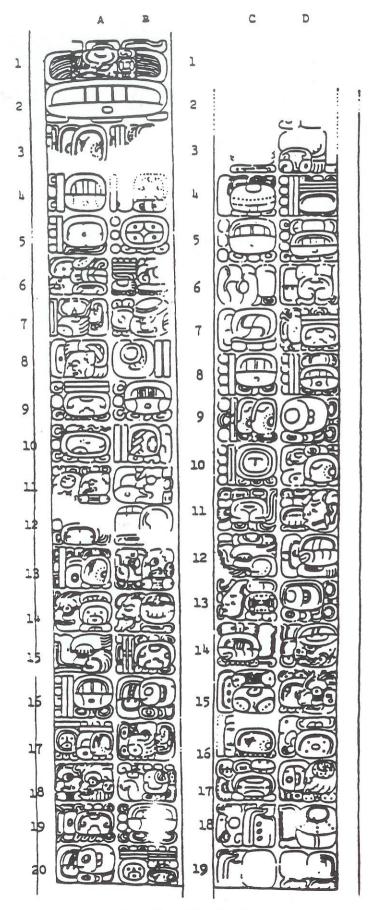
Palenque D.O, Tablet

The Dumbarton Oaks Panel



**Palenque Slaves Tablet** 

The Tablet of the Slaves



Temple 18 Jambs

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